



R. Samuel Del.

Walker Sculp.

BRITANNIA attended by FORTITUDE, WISDOM and LIBERTY,
receiving from NEPTUNE a Marine Crown. FAME flying from
Dover Castle with a Medallion of King GEORGE III.

Published May 1. 1779 by J. Bow Pottery-street Row.

T H E
Naval, Commercial, and General
H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N ;

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L I V E S o f t h e A D M I R A L S ,
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BY FREDERICK HERVEY, ESQ.
Editor of the NEW SYSTEM of GEOGRAPHY,
IN TWO VOLUMES, FOLIO.

*Island of bliss ! amid the subject seas
That thunder round thy rocky coasts, sit up
At once the wonder, terror, and delight
Of distant nations ; whose remotest shores
Can soon be shaken by thy naval arm,
Not to be shook thyself, but all assaults
Baffling, as thy boar-cliffs the loud sea-wave.* THOMSON

I N F I V E V O L U M E S .

The SECOND EDITION, corrected, and very much improved.

V O L . I .

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M,DCC,LXXXVI.



P R E F A C E.

FEW subjects are so generally interesting, and yet few have been more neglected than the Naval History of this country. Except the authentic documents of Mr. Burchett, and the writings of the well-informed and judicious Dr. Campbell, neither of which are brought down much lower than the beginning of the present century, scarce another writer has given the Naval History of this country in detail, in a better form than compilations from gazettees and the publications of the times, indiscriminately and crudely collected, with little labour and less judgment or taste ; and yet, independent of the personal interest which every Englishman has in it, the subject well deserves the attention of the scholar and the man of genius, who by searching for materials in the depositories of authentic but uncommunicated records, by judicious arrangement and embellishment of style, might engage the attention of the reader, whilst he relates the brilliant

exploits of heroes, the fluctuations of fortune, the achievements of inflexible perseverance, the successful events brought about by superior talents and address, and excites "the sadly-pleasing tear," by describing the toils, sufferings, and lamented fate of those who have shed their blood in their country's cause.

The author of the following work puts in a humble claim to public favour, founded on his having bestowed upon the subject a considerable portion of his time and attention for a course of years. Nor has he confined his investigations to mere naval facts: the Trade, Commerce, and Colonization of this country are here treated of in their Rise, Progress, Growth and Extent, much more copiously than has hitherto been done; for when, describing a small island becoming a mighty empire by means of its maritime strength, to relate that progressive advance in commerce which has nourished its naval force, appears to be a necessary part of the plan, although never before blended in such a work.

But whilst those subjects are particularly dwelt upon, a short but comprehensive view
of

of the general history of England is interspersed, in order to connect the chain of events, to throw a light on the manners of each period, and to account for the revolutions which have taken place: and the author freely confesses that a great part of the pleasure which he has received in prosecuting so large a work, would have been lost, if he had not allowed himself to take an enlarged view of his subject, to trace public events to their source, and to lay open the secret springs which have imparted vigour or imbecillity to national operations; if he had not considered the character and views of each monarch in succession, the system of politics pursued by his ministers, the prevailing disposition of the people, and its influence on public measures.

He has endeavoured to treat, with an unbiassed judgment, of those periods in the history of his country which have most agitated the passions of men, and excited party animosities; alike unconnected with all parties, and without expectations from any, he has written what appeared to him to be most conformable to truth.

A long

A long-continued series of history cannot perhaps be better diversified, than by introducing, at proper intervals, the lives of such great men as have borne a conspicuous part in the public transactions which have been related : upon this principle, the reader will find blended in this work, as extensive a naval biography as the author was able to collect from printed materials, and the communications which have been kindly furnished by some very respectable living characters. Much praise is due to the late Dr. Campbell for the interesting particulars which he has preserved of the lives of the admirals : the use which has been made of that work in writing the lives of the early commanders, ought here to be acknowledged ; but recourse has likewise been had to many other authorities, and some few particulars have been obtained from traditional information, particularly in the life of admiral Blake. The lives of such admirals as have flourished since the demise of queen Anne, a numerous and respectable assemblage ! have been written from more diffusive materials, and stand more in need of pardon for their defects.

The

P R E F A C E.

vii

The favourable reception which this work met with, when it appeared in a very imperfect state, has encouraged the writer to pay every attention in his power to the improvement of it.

HACKNEY,
February, 1786.



E R R A T A.

Vol. I.

Page 476, line 5 from the bottom, for 1607 read 1601.

Vol. V.

Page 8, line 11 from the bottom, for *adventures* read *adventurers*.
147, — 8 from the bottom, for *superior* read *inferior*.

TO THE BINDER.

☞ All the Prints have references to the Volume and Page where they are to be placed, except the following Maps and Prints:

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THE
NAVAL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK I.

The Naval History of BRITAIN, from the earliest Times to the Accession of the HOUSE of TUDOR: Containing about Fifteen Hundred and Forty Years.

CHAP. I.

The Naval History of Britain, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Norman Conquest in 1066.

WHILST a nation possesses commerce and maritime strength, its consequence and stability rest on a firm basis. A kingdom founded on conquest, and established by the sword, is ever liable to be overturned by the means that raised it, and a long continued state of peace will enervate and debilitate the national strength: when

when ease and luxury are introduced, an army long inactive becomes almost as formidable to the state that supports it, as to foreign enemies. None of these evils are incident to commerce, which, in times of peace, forms a hardy and laborious race of men: a considerable part of such a people are taught from early childhood to face danger without dismay; to preserve a tranquil mind amidst the fury of conflicting elements, and to despise the blandishments of voluptuous ease. The extremities of heat and cold, fatigues by night and by day, pinching hunger and parching thirst, dangers ever present or impending, and death presenting itself in its most tremendous forms, are not sufficient to damp the ardour of the sailor, *per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes*. From men thus trained, a formidable force can be soon collected to repel a foreign foe, to maintain the independence, and increase the consequence of the state. As such a power is cherished by the principles of liberty, it is always ready to fight under her banner, and being composed of the natural strength of the kingdom, is not, like an army of mercenaries, disposed to farther the views of tyranny and oppression. Carthage, at first founded by a colony of vagrant Tyrians, grew so great by commerce, as to be able to shake the Roman commonwealth to its centre, even when at the height of its power; and the republic of Venice, inconsiderable in itself, rose into consequence by its intercourse with the sea. But neither ancient nor modern times, afford so striking an instance of the influence of commerce, in waisting grandeur to a country, as this kingdom of Great Britain; which, although small in itself, has thereby extended its acquisitions to limits beyond those of ancient Rome: yet without being captivated by the splendid ideas of universal empire, has exerted its force to check and controul such unwarrantable
views

views in other states, and to preserve the liberties of Europe unimpaired.

Little is certainly known concerning the Naval Power of Britain, before the Romans, led on by Julius Cæsar, made a descent on the southern coast of the island. The boats which that commander describes the Britons to have had in use, were made of wicker, and covered with hides. They were most probably employed only for the purpose of fishing, and had others, of a larger size, which they employed in their wars, as well as on more distant voyages. The learned Mr. Selden has laboured very strenuously to prove the naval consequence of Britain at this early period; and he accounts for the inconsiderable figure which it makes in Cæsar's relation, from its ships of war having been destroyed by the Romans, whilst employed in assisting the Veneti, who were then struggling to maintain their independence against the overwhelming power of the Roman commonwealth. This nation inhabited that part of ancient Gaul which is now called Bretagne, more particularly to the south-west, with the island of Belleisle, and Port l'Orient. At that time, the knowledge of sea affairs was almost entirely confined to the remnants of the Carthaginians, which the fury of the Romans had spared. Their conquerors never turned their attention towards commerce, or encouraged it in those countries which they had reduced to provinces. Phœnicians were the first who dared venture out of the Mediterranean sea through the *Fretum Gaditanum*, or Straits of Gibraltar, as they are now called, to conflict with the agitated waves of the Bay of Biscay, where the confluence of waters pouring in towards the shore from the vast Atlantic ocean, causes a tremendous swell, even in the calmest seasons; but a storm, in such a sea, was scarce likely to be weathered, before the use of the mariner's compass
was

was discovered. If, therefore, the Britons were possessed of so much skill in navigation, as to be able to conduct their vessels on such dangerous voyages, in order to assist their allies, it proves them to have been equal adepts in maritime affairs with the most experienced of their contemporary states. But whatever might have been the naval power of Britain, certain it is, that no attempts were made to oppose the Romans by sea, when the invasion from Belgic Gaul was threatened*. Britain was, however, resorted to by foreign merchants, whom it furnished with wool, leather, tin, and lead, before this period†.

The learned antiquarian, above quoted, argues‡, that Britain maintained the dominion of the narrow seas, before the time that Cæsar invaded it, because he consecrated to Venus a military ornament, embroidered with British pearl, on his return to Rome, by which he claimed to himself the dominion of the sea: but it should seem that little stress ought to be laid on such a circumstance: Rome having then extended her power over the continental world, by invading Britain, (for it was by no means subdued at that time) arrogated to herself a dominion over the sea likewise. By which it was meant to insinuate, that the Roman empire was bounded only by the limits of the globe itself, and that all created things did it homage. It is surely most natural to interpret the *vincula dare oceano*, "to subjugate the ocean," which the Roman emperors were afterwards complimented with, in consequence of their conquests being extended to Britain, into a poetical flight, rather than to suppose it meant that Britain, before those times, had claimed, and was allowed, the dominion of the sea, which, by the conquest of that island, was transferred to the

* Anno Ante Christi 55.
duction.

† Anderson on Commerce, Introduction.
‡ Selden Mare Clausum, p. 1288.

Romans. No vestiges of such power are transmitted to us, other than these vaunting epithets. At that time, a voyage from the Straits of Gibraltar to the coast of Britain, was considered as a very bold enterprize; the treasures of the ocean were not then unlocked, and therefore the dominion of the sea could hardly be claimed by a people possessing none of the luxuries derived from an extensive commerce, but remaining rude and ignorant in their manners. What inducement had they to assert a superior right over their surrounding seas, whilst they were sought to by foreign merchants for the wealth hid in the bowels of their country, and remained ignorant of its real value, knowing nothing of the accommodations introduced into a civilized state of society? It would be childish vanity in us, at this day, to attempt to trace the antiquity of our dominion over the sea, beyond the bounds which reason and authentic history assign to it. It is ridiculous to endeavour to derive historic truth from the hyperbole of panegyric.—The dispute concerning the dominion of the four seas, which employed the pens of the most eminent political writers in the last century, will be considered, when we advance farther in this work.

The commerce carried on with Britain was chiefly from the Netherlands, then known by the name of Lower Germany, and Belgium*. In the reign of Nero † we find London became a respectable colony; not as a military fortress, but as a place of trade. Its inhabitants consisted, indiscriminately, of Britons and Romans. Until the fourth year of the emperor Domitian, (*Anno Christi* 84) Britain was not certainly known to be an island; in that year the Roman fleet, under the conduct of Agricola,

* Anderson on Commerce, Introduction, xxxiii.

† A. D. 54.

first sailed round it. Here Tacitus, the Roman historian, resided for some time. A better idea cannot be formed of the condition of London about an hundred years after the Christian æra commenced, than from the words of that celebrated historian, *Londinum, copia negotiatorum & commeatu maxime celeberrimum*, "London, famous for its many merchants, and plenty of its merchandize."

Britain, at length, effectually reduced to a Roman province, received some compensation for the loss of its liberty, in the introduction of such arts as furnish life with conveniences and accommodations; the manners of the Britons imperceptibly advanced towards civilization, whilst the flower of their youth were drained from their native country, trained to arms, and taught to fight under the standard of Rome. At length that unwieldy power began to totter: in the early part of Dioclesian's reign, when the empire became divided between him and Maximian, the western empire falling to the lot of the latter, a bold and successful adventurer, named Carausius, whose birth was so obscure, that even his native country is not certainly known, so far recommended himself to Maximian, as to be appointed to the command of a fleet destined to destroy a nest of pyratrical Franks and Saxons, who had become very troublesome on the Belgic, Armonican, and British coasts*. Carausius made immense spoils from subduing these plunderers, and had the address to render himself so beloved by those whom he commanded, that he began to think himself elevated above the condition of a subject, and to receive the orders of the emperor with an unwilling obedience. Maximian soon perceived the defection of his general, and, to get rid of one whose ambition strongly urged him

* Anno Domini 285.

to renounce his allegiance, laid a plan to have him taken off by poison; but the design was discovered before it was carried into effect, so that it only served to accelerate the measures which it was intended to frustrate*. Carausius was at that time in Gaul, but passing over from thence into Britain, he there gained over the Roman soldiery, as well as the Britons, to his interest, assumed the Imperial purple, and was unanimously acknowledged emperor. At first Maximian determined on suppressing this revolt, and for that purpose proceeded with an army into Gaul; but finding his interest entirely lost in Britain, and that the coasts of Gaul and Spain were ravaged by the fleets of Carausius, he agreed to acknowledge his title of emperor, and to invest him with Britain, for his territory. Some coins are still extant, which have, on one side, the head of Carausius, with this inscription: IMP. CARAUSIUS P. F. AUG. on the reverse, the portraits of two emperors joining hands, alluding to this league with Maximian. These coins are of silver, and found no where but in Britain†. Having his title thus authenticated, Carausius governed with such gentleness and moderation, as recommended him both to his Roman and British subjects. As he had acquired his sovereignty by his power at sea, so he was convinced the only secure tenure by which he could hold it was, maintaining the same superiority there. He had not been long seated on his throne, before the Picts and Scots, who inhabited the northern extremity of the island, harassed his borders by their inroads: these enemies he defeated in several engagements, and drove them back into their proper boundaries. Content with having made them feel his superiority, he granted them an advantageous peace,

* Eutropius, lib. ix.

† Stukeley's Carausius.

in order that he might be left at liberty to prosecute more extensive designs. No sooner had he freed his subjects from their enemies at home, than (if we may credit the British historians, for the Roman writers say nothing about it) he made a league with the Franks, and other nations who were seated on the Thracian Bosphorus, now called the Dardanelles, whose power at sea was become formidable. The design of this alliance was to annoy the Romans on the coasts of Spain and Gaul, for which purpose a powerful fleet was to be equipped by the Franks, and, passing the Straits, to form a junction with the British ships. But these ambitious views only hastened the ruin of their projector. So formidable an alliance alarmed the Roman empire, and led both the eastern and western divisions to unite for their common safety. Constantius Chlorus, who had been lately made Cæsar, was appointed to the command of a powerful army in Gaul; and soon after the two emperors, Dioclesian and Maximian, resigning their empires at the same time, Galerius succeeded to the eastern, and Constantius acquired the western empire; the latter having Britain for a part of his dominion, determined to dispossess this turbulent chief of his possessions. He therefore laid siege to Boulogne, of which Carausius had possession, and where he then was. Having constructed a fleet of one thousand sail on the Rhine, Constantius effectually shut up his adversary's ships in the several ports of Britain, and sailed himself, with the remainder, in quest of the confederated Franks, whom he came up with, and so totally defeated, that, according to some authors, he did not leave a man alive. Meanwhile Carausius found means to escape from Boulogne, then closely besieged by the emperors both by sea and land, and arrived in Britain, where he was soon after murdered, having reigned seven years.

Alectus,

Alectus, the assassin, himself assumed the purple, and maintained the war; but his triumph was short, for Constantius having landed in Britain, Asclepiodotus, who commanded a party of Roman horse, defeated and slew him, after he had held his usurped dignity three years*.

Constantius soon after died at York, and left his son Constantine emperor of the west, who presently subdued the eastern likewise, and ruled over the whole Roman empire, once more united under one head. It is generally believed that Constantine, afterwards styled the Great, was born in Britain, of Helena, daughter of Coel, king of Colchester†. However, whether he considered it as his native soil, or only entertained a predilection for Britain, as the place where he had passed his early years, that prince paid great attention to the concerns of this country. As he was the first Roman emperor who embraced Christianity, he allowed it to be openly professed throughout his dominions‡. The Romans, after this, remained in possession of the island for about one hundred and fifty years, when the naval power of the Saxons began to be very much dreaded on the British coast; and the eruptions of Alarick, the Goth, into Italy, obliging the Romans to collect their strength for the defence of the heart of their empire, they left this then unhappy island exposed to the depredations of these corsairs, whilst the Picts and Scots poured in upon them from the northern borders. The affairs of the empire growing still more desperate, at length Gallio, the Roman commander in Britain, embarked all his troops, and quitted the country§, abandoning Britain, and all the rights which the Roman empire had, till

* There is yet extant a gold coin of Alectus, with this inscription; IMP. C. ALECTUS P. F. AVG. On the reverse; SALUS. AVG. AURELIUS VICTOR IN CASARIB.

† Anno Domini 336.

‡ Usher, Camden, Stillingfleet.
§ Anno Domini 426.

then,

then, laid claim to; for, as a judicious writer observes, this, being a voluntary abdication, plainly proves that the Romans left the Britons as free as they found them*.

Nothing could be more dreadful than the situation of the Britons, thus left defenceless, and exposed to the merciless cruelty of every invader. It has already been observed †, that the policy of the Romans led them to recruit their armies by draughts from the youth of their distant provinces, whom they conveyed to remote parts of the empire, far removed from any hopes of ever revisiting their native country. Britain, thus deprived of its natural strength, consisted of a people untrained to arms, and incapable of making head against their warlike assailants: they were, at length, obliged to put themselves under the protection of the Saxons, to repress the inroads of the Picts and Scots. Nothing that concerns the plan of this work occurs in the British history till the settlement of the Saxons, which forms a new æra in the concerns of the country.

The first body of Saxons that arrived in Britain on the footing of friends, was commanded by Horsa and Hengist, two chiefs, who came over with three ships to assist Vortigern, a British prince, against his northern foes. These foreigners, finding themselves more powerful than the natives, being continually reinforced by new bands, and practising on the passions of a weak prince, gained a firm footing in the country. It is foreign to our purpose to relate the internal conflicts which were maintained by the Britons with these strangers, who, under the disguise of friends, had established themselves on the island. Those who were too hardy to submit to these foreign lords, at length finding themselves

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 30.

† Page 10.

unequal to the conflict, retreated either into Wales, then called Cambria, or Cornwall, and the country adjacent; there wooing the "mountain nymph Sweet Liberty." It should seem that in this contest the two Saxon leaders, Horsa and Hengist, were both slain, if we may give credit to the British historians of those times, against the assertions of the Saxon writers.

The transactions of this period must not be dismissed without saying something of the renowned Arthur, that illustrious British hero and patriot, who, for seventy-five years, stemmed the torrent of Saxon power in Britain. The history of this great man is, however, so involved in fable, that little can be with certainty related concerning him. Rapin informs us, that he was born at Tindagel, in Cornwall, in 452, or 453. At fifteen years of age he became king of Danmonium; in 476 he was created patrician of Ambrosius; in 508 he was chosen monarch of Britain; and in 528 he assumed the Imperial purple. In 542, when he was ninety years of age, he fought a bloody battle with Modred, a British chief, who had assumed the sovereignty in Britain, during the absence of Arthur in Armonica, or Bretagne, in which action Modred was slain on the field, and Arthur received a wound, of which he soon after died. He is said to have been buried in the monastery of Glasfenbury, by the side of Gueniver, his second wife*.

With Arthur, all opposition to the Saxon power died. This great revolution in Britain plainly proves the necessity of maintaining a superior force at sea, in order to preserve the liberty and independence of this insular state: and, as the great Raleigh long after observed, "England is a land which can never be conquered, whilst the kings thereof keep the dominion of the sea."

* Tindal's Rapin, Vol. I. p. 39.

The Anglo-Saxons being now firmly settled in Britain, from them the country derived the name of England. Seven kingdoms were erected, each independent of the rest, and governed by a king. From these princes one was chosen, to whom a paramount authority was acknowledged by all; something like the form of government then prevailing, and still continuing in Germany, from whence these colonies originally migrated. This prince, by way of distinction, was styled king of the Englishmen; and the kingdom, thus distributed into states, was called an Heptarchy, or sevenfold government. It consisted of the kingdoms of Kent; of Suffex, or the South-Saxons; of Wessex, or the West-Saxons; of Mercia; Northumberland; Essex; and East-Anglia. This form continued for something more than three hundred years, until Offa, the eleventh king of the Mercians, who, together with a larger extent of territory*, possessed very superior talents, being chosen to this supreme dignity, which, in fact, was more an honorary distinction, than an investiture of sovereign command, began to form a design of possessing himself of absolute power. The petty princes endeavoured, in vain, to oppose his ambitious views. The natural animosity which subsisted between the Britons and the Saxons, was, on this occasion, so much forgotten, that the former lent their aid to the oppressed Saxons, in order to pull down this

* Mercia was bounded on the north by the Humber, by which it was separated from Northumberland; on the west by the Severn, beyond which were the Britons, or Welsh; on the south by the Thames, by which it was parted from the kingdoms of Kent, Suffex, and Wessex; on the east by the kingdoms of Essex, and East-Anglia. The inhabitants of this kingdom are sometimes styled by historians *Mediterranei Angli*, or the mid-land English. Of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, this was the finest and most considerable; its greatest length being one hundred and sixty miles, and its greatest breadth one hundred †.

† Rapin, Vol. I. p. 53.

aspiring prince; but Offa was too strong for their combined force; the Britons he drove back to their mountains, to which he confined them by throwing up a strong entrenchment, extending twenty-four miles, from the mouth of the river Dee to where the Wye empties itself into the Severn; the remains of which work are still to be seen, and are known by the name of Clawd Offa, or Offa's Dyke *. The Saxons glowing with the warmest sentiments of liberty, could not brook this subversion of their constitution; they, in their exigence, implored the assistance of Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, king of France; but Offa, not at all intimidated by the prospect of drawing on himself a foreign enemy, fitted out a respectable fleet, capable of opposing any force Charles might bring against him, and which deterred that prince from taking any active part in this civil contention. Offa reigned thirty-nine years †; and had so far succeeded in extending his power, as to annex East-Anglia to the kingdom of Mercia, and considerably altered the former constitution of the Heptarchy. In this reign the Danes first landed on the English coast ‡. But this vigilant prince soon drove them to their ships, with considerable loss.

The subversion of the Saxon Heptarchy had its foundation laid by this king, which was entirely completed in 828, when Egbert, king of the West-Saxons, partly by conquest, and partly by inheritance, became sole monarch of England. Four years after the Danes made a second descent on this island, landing on the Isle of Sheppy, which they laid waste §. The next year they arrived at Charmouth, in Dorsetshire, with thirty-five vessels; Egbert marched against them and gave them battle,

* Wm. Malmsh. Camden.

† At Portland, An. Dom. 789.

‡ He died An. Dom. 796.

§ After. Ann. 154. Sax. An. Huntingd.

in which he was routed, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of those pyratival invaders. The object with the Danes being plunder, not conquest, when they had amassed great quantities of spoil, they re-embarked on board their fleet, and returned home*.

Two years after, another armament appeared off Cornwall, having been invited over by the Cornish Britons, whose antipathy to the Saxons prompted them to take any methods, however desperate, to harass and distress them. Egbert, who was an active and a brave prince, had expected such a visit, and was prepared to receive it: he gave them battle, and entirely routed them, thereby restoring the lustre of his tarnished honour. By this decisive blow, he not only delivered his country for several years from the insults of these rovers, but drove the Britons into narrower limits.

In the next reign † a Danish fleet, of thirty-three sail, appeared off Southampton; and before these could be repelled, another swarm landed at Portland. The Saxon troops sent against them were defeated in several engagements. The Danes, at length, finding themselves superior to any force that could be gathered to oppose them, possessed themselves of Canterbury, Rochester, and London, where they committed the most savage outrages, and then returned to their ships, which had probably sailed round the coast, in order to receive them at the mouth of the Thames. The Saxon navy, at that time, being incapable of opposing their progress, the kingdom continued to be exposed to the same shocking ravages, which were every year committed on some or other part of the coast, during the reigns of Ethelwulph, Athelstan, Ethelbert, and Ethelred, except sometimes when they

* Huntingd. Sax. Ann.

† Ethelwolf's.

happened

happened to meet with a sharp repulse, which would deter them from attempting any thing for a few years. The dread of these northern invaders was not confined to England; the Low Countries, and the coast of France, also felt their devastations; insomuch, that it became a petition in their public prayers, to be delivered from the fury of these northern people. *A furore Normanorum libera nos, Domine**. And here it may be proper to give a short account of the origin of a people, who thus continued, for many years, to be the scourge of the maritime parts of Europe.

Scandia, or Scandinavia, which was also called Baltia, (whence the Baltic Sea,) situated in the north of Europe, contained a tract of land, in length, from north to south, about four hundred leagues; and in breadth, from east to west, about one hundred and fifty. It contained Norway, with so much of Sweden as lay west of the gulph of Bothnia. This country is said to have been peopled soon after the flood, by two nations, or branches of the same nation, the Goths and the Swedes, who founded two large kingdoms there, from whence sprang those colonies which over-ran all Europe, on the decline of the Roman empire. According to the northern historians, Denmark received its name twelve hundred and fifty years before Christ, from Dan, the son of Humel, who reigned in that country. The Danes and Norwegians appear to have been separated from their ancestors, the Goths and Swedes, very early; the situation of their country, and the great plenty of all things necessary for building and equipping a fleet, rendered them superior at sea to all their neighbours. In time they employed their naval force in plundering ships, and ravaging the coasts of Europe. The writers of the Saxon history,

* Rapin, Vol. I. p. 83.

being many of them monks, did not well distinguish between foreign nations, but called all the invaders of this kingdom, from whatever quarter they came, Danes; because the first who troubled the race of the Saxons in this way, were of that nation. In like manner foreigners called them Normans, which seems to have been a contraction of northern men. This practice of scouring the northern seas, and plundering wherever they came, made them infamous in the eyes of others, though it passed among themselves for an honourable way of making war. These northern nations were always extremely populous; and when they found themselves crowded, their custom was to equip a squadron of ships, on board of which went some of their chiefs, followed by a body of men, who were willing to share their fortunes. At this time they were Pagans; and it must be owned, the structure of their religion was very favourable to these sort of enterprizes; representing them rather as effects of heroism, than as acts of robbery. In process of time, as they grew more civilized, they began to change their notions, and affected settlements, whenever they found themselves strong enough to make them. It is not necessary here to enter deeply into their history: let it suffice to observe, that they attained their dominion in England by their power at sea*. They sailed in flat-bottomed boats, and ravaged the countries with unbridled devastation†. A settlement was made by these northern people on the coast of France, A. D. 876, under the conduct of Rollo, a famous Norwegian chief, who, possessing himself of Neustria, first laid the foundation of the dukedom of Normandy, A. D. 881, with which the history of this country came afterwards to be connected‡.

* Rapin, Vol. I. p. 82. Campbell's Lives of Admirals, Vol. I. p. 74.
 † Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. Vol. I. p. 5. ‡ Mazerai.

But

But to resume the history of the Saxon kings. In 871 Alfred succeeded his brother Ethelred in the throne of England. No prince ever entered on the government of a kingdom more beset with danger, broken, exhausted, and dispirited, than England at that time was. By the continual attacks of the Danes, every noble sentiment that urges a people to defend their liberties was extinguished, and desperation had diffused every where an abject spirit of submission. The whole country wore a face of desolation, and the cities and towns were despoiled. But as great occasions make great men, Alfred was not intimidated by the gloomy prospect which presented itself. At this time the Danes had made themselves masters of Northumberland and East-Anglia, on the eastern coast of Britain, and had penetrated into the centre of the kingdom of Wessex: but the active spirit, and military skill of this brave prince, soon gave a different aspect to public affairs. The Danes became sensible that they had to deal with an enemy formidable in himself, however destitute he might be of national resources, and therefore concluded a peace with him. This wise prince did not lose sight of the importance of possessing a power at sea: in maritime affairs, he was particularly skilful; and as we have authentic memoirs of his reign, the sagacity which he discovered in providing ships of a new construction, is truly admirable. Hereby he acquired prodigious advantages over his enemies. As the fleets of these invaders were frequently built in a hurry, hastily drawn together, meanly provided, in respect to provisions and rigging, and crowded with men; a few ships of a larger size, constructed in a new manner, built of well-seasoned materials, amply supplied with ammunition and provisions, and manned with expert seamen, must at first sight surprize, and in the course

course of an engagement destroy, numbers of the enemy, without any great hazard to themselves. Accordingly, he caused a certain number of ships to be built, capable of holding each sixty rowers, and double in all other respects to the largest ships then in use. These he sent to sea, with instructions neither to receive nor give quarter, but to put to death all that fell in their power. Although such a method of making war may seem to favour of inhumanity, yet when the savage nature of the enemy against whom he fought, is taken into the account, the king will stand acquitted of this imputation. Such a measure was necessary in the exigency of his affairs, and served to carry his designs into execution. He found himself now capable of engaging the Danes at sea, and thereby preventing their landing. No sooner were these vessels built, than an opportunity offered of proving their utility*. Six or seven pirates were hovering about the Isle of Wight, and the coast of Devonshire: immediately nine of these new vessels went in quest of them, with instructions to get, if possible, between them and the shore. Three of the Danish ships, as soon as they perceived the English approach, ran ashore; but the rest stood out to sea, and boldly began the attack. Of these, two were taken, and all the men killed; the third escaped, but with only five men on board. The ships, which had so cowardly shunned the fight, were then attacked; but the tide set them afloat, and enabled them to sheer off, in a very battered and leaky condition, and a great number of their men either killed or wounded. In this condition they reached the coast of the South-Saxons, where the crews of two vessels got on shore, and endeavoured to escape, but were taken, carried to Winchester,

* An. Dom. 876.

and there hanged. The third vessel was more fortunate, and got back to Denmark *. In the same year, not less than twenty ships, with all the men on board them, were destroyed on the south coast of England; which demonstrates the vast utility of this improvement in the shipping. These successes were followed by others more considerable: one hundred and twenty sail of Danish transports making to the shore, in order to land their men, were attacked by the Saxon fleet, which sunk the greatest part of them. The next year another Danish fleet sailing westward, met with so violent a storm, that the greatest part perished; and such as escaped fell into the hands of the English, who proved as inexorable as the waves †.

But the wisdom and bravery of this great monarch could not secure him from feeling the most fatal reverse of fortune. After a series of noble efforts to reduce the power of the Danes already settled in the northern parts of England, and to oppose the swarms of fresh invaders that were pouring into the country, he found himself, at length, overpowered by his enemies, deserted by his subjects, and compelled to stand indebted for his own safety to the disguise of a shepherd ‡. He continued thus concealed, in the Isle of Athelney, for some months, till favourable circumstances turning up, he took the bold resolution of entering the Danish camp, in the character of a minstrel, whereby he gained the fullest information of the condition of the enemy. He then collected his scattered adherents, and suddenly attacked the Danes, whilst they were lulled into security, believing the Saxons incapable of making any head against them. By this surprise he entirely routed the whole army; and so decisive was this victory, that in its consequences it

* *Affer. Vita Alfr.*
D6m. 878.

† *Sax. Ann. Affar.*

‡ *An.*

cleared the whole kingdom of roving Danes, leaving none of that nation remaining, but such as had become fixed inhabitants on the island, and these were thereby brought to acknowledge Alfred for their sovereign*. No sooner was he thus reinstated in his kingdom, than he restored the English fleet to a respectable condition; by which his sea-coasts were protected, and the roving parties of the Danes deterred from making descents. Twelve years of almost uninterrupted tranquility were obtained by these measures. At length, three hundred sail of ships, divided into two fleets, menaced England with a renewal of those miseries from which it had been for some time relieved. One of these fleets, consisting of two hundred sail, appeared off the coast of Kent, whilst the other entered the Thames†. Nothing can be conceived more dreadful than the desolation which these enraged barbarians spread wherever they came: but this formidable invasion was, after some time, repelled, and from that time Alfred continued to enjoy domestic quiet until his death, which happened seven years afterwards‡, An. Dom. 900.

Perhaps no prince ever employed a few years of profound peace, more effectually to promote the benefit of a people, than this great king. This interval of quiet may be considered as the reward of a whole life spent in toils, dangers, and exertions of body and mind. He formed a body of laws; settled the methods to be observed in administering justice; introduced the mode of trial by jury; divided his kingdom into shires, hundreds, and tythings; embodied a militia; in short, he laid the foundation of that happy constitution under which we live at this day: he had before founded the University of Oxford, and now invited learned men, from all

* An. Dom. 879. W. Malmf.

† Aged fifty-two years.

‡ An. Dom. 893.

countries, to settle in his kingdom: but what more properly belongs to this work, is the endeavours he used to promote industry, and to direct the attention of his subjects to foreign trade and commerce. He is said to have caused a number of merchant-ships to be built at his own expence, which he let out to private adventurers, in order to excite a disposition to merchandise.

Because Alfred did more than any former prince ever did in England, therefore some writers have represented him as doing what was, in its very nature, impossible to be done; for they assert, that he traded to the East-Indies by sea, four hundred years before the use of the mariner's compass was known; without which such a voyage could not possibly be performed*. That he sat on foot an expedition overland to the east, and that those who went on that tedious and dangerous enterprize returned, having accomplished their purpose, is not to be doubted.

It is asserted, with more shew of reason, that Alfred sent out one Oëther, a Dane, to make discoveries to the northward, and the north-east, in order to find a passage to the East-Indies by that route; an account of which voyage is printed in Hakluyt's and Purchas's collections. This navigator appears to have advanced as far as the 66th degree, to have surveyed the coasts of Norway and Lapland, and to have presented the king, not only with a clear description of those countries, and their inhabitants, but to have also brought home some of the horse-whale's teeth, which were then esteemed more valuable than ivory; he is also said to have given him a good account of the whale-fishery. This probably encouraged the king afterwards to send Wulfstan, an Englishman, to view those northern countries, of which he also gave him

* Spellman's Life of Alfred, l. 2. c. 28.

a relation. Both these narratives were written with so much accuracy in point of geography, with such plainness and probability with respect to facts, and are intermixed with such just and prudent observations, that whoever shall take the trouble of comparing them with what the famous Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Upsal, wrote many hundred years afterwards of the same countries, will be much surprized, and will readily confess that the age of Alfred was an age of good sense, and far superior in knowledge to those ages which succeeded it; there being nothing of fable or improbability in what Oëther or Wulfstan deliver, but all exactly conformable to what the discoveries of the last and present age have taught us *.

A jewel, richly wrought, was dug up in the Island of Athelney, which was the king's retreat when he fled from the Danes. This curious relict is still preserved in the Ashmolean collection of curiosities; and, besides its excellent workmanship, hath a Saxon inscription to this purpose: *ÆLFREDUS ME JUSSIT FABRICARI*. Alfred directed this to be made. In his kingdom, the industrious foreigner found a generous welcome: inventors, artists, mechanics, were all courted to repair to it, and none departed unrewarded †. Alfred was succeeded by his son Edward.

At this time England was almost equally divided between the English and Danes; the latter possessing Northumberland and East-Anglia, whilst the English retained Wesssex, together with all the land south of the Thames: the extensive kingdom of Mercia was peopled by a mixture of both nations. It happened unfortunately for the repose of the kingdom, that Alfred's elder brother having left a son, named Ethelward,

* Campbell's Lives of Admirals, Vol. I. p. 56.

† Asser. p. 20.

he laid claim to the crown on the death of his uncle, to the exclusion of his cousin Edward; but finding the English disinclined to support his pretensions, he applied to the Danes, whom he found better disposed to his cause: but the activity of Edward disconcerted his measures, and so effectually intimidated the Danes, that they abandoned Ethelward, who thereupon fled into Normandy, where he obtained a supply of men and ships, with which he made a descent on the coast of Essex; but in the issue these foreign invaders were routed, Ethelward was slain, the Danes, inhabiting Essex, submitted to the king, and the shattered remnant of Normans returned to France. These, however, were not the only enemies which Edward had to encounter during his reign: the Danish pirates made some formidable invasions on the coasts, but in every attempt they were driven back with great loss.

Edward was succeeded by Athelstan his son, by a concubine*, in whose reign England was invaded by Anlaff, a Dane by birth, but who had established himself in Ireland. This prince entered the Humber with six hundred sail, being a more numerous fleet than had ever appeared in those seas: but a decisive victory, gained by the king, put an end to these troubles. The use which this wise prince made of his successes, was, effectually to secure his dominions, by dispossessing the petty princes of their strong holds. Had his reign been longer, he might probably have so thoroughly established the Saxon power, as to have secured it against any future attempts of their Danish rivals: but he died about a year after the public tranquillity had been established †, having reigned about sixteen years. Edmund, his brother, who was then only nineteen years of age, succeeded him, and immediately found

* Anno Domini 925.

† Anno Domini 941.

himself engaged in a formidable war with Anlaff, and in the issue of it was obliged to share his kingdom with him. After a reign of six years, he was succeeded by his brother Edred, during whose reign, and that of his successor Edwy, nothing occurs for our purpose to relate. Edgar mounted the throne in 959. A prince of great parts; and who so well knew how to make himself obeyed by his subjects, and feared by his enemies, that, during a reign of sixteen years, his kingdom enjoyed one uninterrupted peace; owing to the constant state of defence in which it was held. He is said to have fitted out four thousand ships of different dimensions and force; and some have increased the number to four thousand eight hundred: but not to attempt to determine a matter, concerning which the authorities disagree, so far is certain, that his fleet was superior to any of his predecessors, and more powerful than those of all the other European princes combined. To support the expence of this fleet, besides the contributions from his subjects, he entered into a treaty at Chester, with six tributary princes, who engaged to assist him both by sea and land. These ships he divided into three fleets, each of twelve hundred sail, and kept them constantly stationed, one on the east, another on the west, and the third on the north coast of the kingdom. Nor was his attention confined to the provision he had made for the security of his kingdom: to rouse the vigilance of his commanders, himself, every year, after Easter, went on board the fleet that was stationed on the eastern coast, and sailing westward, he scoured the channel, looking into every creek and bay, from the mouth of the Thames to the lands end in Cornwall: then, quitting these ships, he went on board the western fleet, with which, steering his course to the northward, he did the like, not only on the English and Scotch coasts,

coasts, but also on those of Ireland, and among the Hebrides, which lie on the north-west coast of Scotland, and to the north of Ireland: then meeting the northern fleet, he sailed in it to the Thames' mouth. Thus surrounding the island every summer, he rendered an invasion from any quarter impracticable, kept his sailors in constant exercise, and effectually asserted his sovereignty over the sea*. As a further proof of which, the English historians relate a very extraordinary fact: they tell us, that this prince, keeping his court at Chester, and being inclined to pass by water to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, was rowed down the Dee, in a barge, by eight kings, himself sitting at the helm †. Edgar, by his prudent measures, had delivered his kingdom from that dread of foreign invasions, under which it had ignominiously shaken for more than a century and a half: but Edward, his son, who succeeded him, being a minor, and in a few years being assassinated by his mother-in-law Elfreda, to make way for her own son Ethelred, that wise attention which had been bestowed on the national defence, by keeping up a strong naval force, was disregarded ‡.

* Campbell's Lives of Admirals, Vol. I. p. 65. † Wm. Malmf.
 l. 2. c. 6. S. Dunelin, p. 159. Bromp. 8, 9. ‡ Ethelred made
 some laws at Wantage, relating to customs on ships and merchandize, to be
 paid at Blyngeſgate, (Billinſgate) in the port of London; then the only
 quay.—For a small vessel arriving there, one halfpenny for toll.—If a larger
 one, bearing sails, one penny.—A keele, or hulk, a long and capacious
 vessel, four-pence.—Every ship laden with wool, one piece for toll.—A boat
 with fish, one halfpenny, and a bigger boat a penny.—Those of Rouen, in
 Normandy, that came with wine, or grampoſ, (ſuppoſed to mean peas) and
 thoſe of Flanders and Ponthieu, and others from Normandy and France, were
 wont to open their wares, and free them from toll. Such traders as came
 from Liege, and other places, travelling by land, opened their wares, and
 paid toll. The emperor's men, (by which is ſuppoſed to be meant the Ger-
 mans of the Steel-yard, of whom more will be ſaid ſhortly) coming with
 their ſhips, might buy and ſell in their ſhips, but not foreſtall the market from
 the burghers of London. Thoſe were to pay toll, and at Chriſtmas two grey
 cloths, and one brown one, with ten pounds of pepper, five pair of gloves,
 two veſſels of vinegar; and as many at Eaſter §.

§ HOWELL's History of the World. ANDERSON on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 52.

Ruin treads close on the heels of security. In six years after the death of Edgar, the strength of the nation was so far sunk, that the foreign Danes, once more, directed their views to this island. These rovers arriving in seven ships, made their first descent at Southampton; and such was the defenceless state of the kingdom, that they plundered the town, and adjacent country; and, as if inspired with redoubled cruelty, from having been so long kept at bay, they either slew, or made captive, almost all the miserable inhabitants; after which they carried the same devastation into Cornwall. At length, embarking on board their fleet, not yet satiated with spoil and with blood, they landed on the Isle of Thanet, which they desolated in like manner: at the same time another band ravaged Chester*. To encrease the calamities of this fatal year†, the city of London was destroyed by fire. Such inattention had been shewn to the maintaining a powerful fleet, that the nation was destitute of any force capable of opposing these corsairs at sea; and some part or other of the coast must, of necessity, be left exposed to their descent. Thus did these inexorable plunderers carry on their infamous hostilities for the space of ten years. Two years having elapsed, without any renewal of their visits, the affrighted country began to promise itself some repose; when, in 991, two Danish captains, Justin and Guthmund, landed a large body of troops at Gipswich, now called Ipswich, in Suffolk: here they defeated Brithnoth, duke of East-Anglia, and over-ran the country, committing the most brutal ravages. In this extremity, the weak king, taking the advice of as weak an ecclesiastic, offered to bribe them to depart, by paying them ten thou-

* S. Dunelm. 161. Bromp. 877.

† A.D. 981.

sand pounds*. He would have acted a much wiser part, if he had employed the money in equipping a fleet, and gallantly faced the enemy. The consequences of this bribe were such as obviously presented themselves, though quite contrary to the expectations of the infatuated Ethelred: the Danes committed greater ravages than ever; supposing, that the worse they treated the king's subjects, the larger sums they should extort for a promise to be gone. Three years after, Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Oläus, king of Norway, entered the Thames with a numerous fleet, and landed their troops near London: but the bravery of the inhabitants saved that city from being sacked: however, they plundered Kent, Suffex, and Hampshire, threatening to lay waste the whole kingdom. Sixteen thousand pounds sterling was the price paid for the deliverance of the country from these barbarians †.

In the year 1007, the consternation of the English had risen to such a height, and the spirit of the people was so entirely broken, by the continual harrassment and distress which they suffered, that they but faintly opposed their enemies. Whether it happened through the disaffection of the generals who commanded the English forces, or that an universal terror had seized the troops, so it was, that, in every conflict with the Danes, the Saxons were vanquished. The Isle of Wight, Hampshire, and Dorsetshire, were now over-run by new swarms, who had gained an establishment there, and made from thence continual incursions into the neighbouring counties, without meeting with any opposition. In this extremity Ethelred, who had no resolution, far from imitating the firmness of his ancestors, who, in like circumstances, were never daunted by misfortunes, seeing no other

* Sax. Anu. 991.

† Malmf. l. 2. c. 10. Sax. Ann. 994.

way to escape from the still great miseries that threatened the nation, at length yielded to pay the Danes thirty thousand pounds ; a sum in those days very considerable. The money was levied by a tax called Danegeld, that is, Danish money : this was the origin of that famous tax, which afterwards became so extremely burdensome to the nation. But when it came to be levied upon the land annually, it was applied in future reigns to better purposes, namely, the fitting out a fleet, and raising a force to defend the kingdom. But the clergy and monks, says Rapin, always found means to be exempted from paying this tax *.

This same year Ethelred married Emma, the daughter of duke Richard I. of Normandy, who was the grandson of Rollo, the famous Norwegian chief before spoken of †. Every year increased the power of the Danes, and diminished that of the English. The same posture of affairs continued after the death of Sweyn, whilst Canute, his son, waged the same cruel war against Edmund, surnamed Ironsides, the son of Ethelred. At length, in 1017, a peace was brought about, by Edmund's surrendering to Canute the extensive kingdom of Mercia, as well as the districts of Northumberland and East-Anglia, then possessed by the Danes, who had formerly settled there ; by which concessions the Saxon king was circumscribed within the boundaries of the country south of the Thames, only retaining the city of London. But on the death of Edmund, which happened in the same year, Canute possessed himself of the whole kingdom. This revolution was not occasioned either by the incapacity or inactivity of Edmund ; for he defended his kingdom with extraordinary valour ; but it principally proceeded from the treachery of one of his nobles, who was entrusted

* Vol. I. pa. 119.

† Page 20.

with the command of a powerful army, which he basely surrendered up to the Dane.

Canute ascended the throne by the extorted consent of the nation. Immediately on his being chosen king, he divided the kingdom into four governments; Mercia, Northumberland, East-Anglia, and Wessex. Edmund left two sons, Edwin and Edward, whom Canute sent out of the kingdom. Edwin, the eldest, died in Hungary, without posterity: the younger married Agatha, sister-in-law to Solomon, king of Hungary, and daughter to the emperor Henry II. From this marriage descended Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Christian *. In the second year of Canute's reign, he levied an extraordinary subsidy on his subjects, in order to pay off his fleet, the amount of which is said to have been eleven thousand pounds for the city of London only, and seventy-two thousand pounds for the rest of his kingdom: from whence the consequence of that city, in ancient times, may be clearly inferred, it being supposed to bear a proportion of more than one-eighth to the whole kingdom. During the nineteen years that he reigned, his attention was directed to conciliate the affections of his new subjects, which he successfully accomplished; for they not only continued peaceable at home, but served him in the wars he carried on in Denmark, as well as against Sweden and Norway. Thus, in the year 1027, he sailed with a fleet of fifty ships, with English forces on board, into Norway, and driving out Olaf, who had set himself up for king, the next year he returned into England. Two years afterwards he invaded Scotland, both by land and sea, and obliged the king of that country to conclude a peace, the terms of which were dictated by the Conqueror. Canute seems wisely to have kept

* Lord Lyttelton, Vol. I. p. 2.

up the attention of the nation to foreign concerns, in order that the people might not have leisure to concert internal commotions: by which means he became the most powerful prince of his time, and throughout his whole reign carried his prerogative in naval affairs as high, or rather higher, than any of his predecessors; which he was amply furnished with the means of doing, being, at the same time, king of Denmark and Norway, as well as of England*.

Canute married Emma, the widow of Ethelred, by whom he had a son named Hardicanute, to whom he gave the kingdom of Denmark. Harold, surnamed Harefoot, whom he had by a concubine, succeeded him in the throne of England.

The reign of Harold was short, and passed without any occurrence material to the purpose of this history.

Hardicanute, his half brother, succeeded him, whose reign was equally short, and marked by nothing but the brutal cruelty, and extreme gluttony, of the prince. With him the succession of Danish kings ceased, and the crown reverted to the Saxon line †, in the person of Edward, called the Confessor, the son of Ethelred by Emma, in preference to Edward, son of Edmond Ironside, whose claim was better founded than his uncle's, upon the principles of hereditary succession: but, from this instance, it may be very reasonably inferred, that the Saxon constitution did not always dispose of the crown in a lineal course of descent. And what farther supports such a conclusion is, that Edward himself invited his nephew to England, and caused him to be declared heir to the crown, having obtained the consent of the Wittena-Gemote, or assembly of state, in confirmation of his choice;

* Selden *Mare Clausum*, lib. II, cap. 12.

† *An. Dom.* 1041.

which

which would not have happened, if the preference shewn the uncle had not been considered as a legal act. The reason for this nomination was, the improbability of Edward's having a child; and no other prince of the royal family remained alive, but this Edward, and his son Edgar Atheling.

Edward obtained the crown by the assistance of Godwin, earl of Wessex, whose daughter the king promised to marry. This earl was distinguished by his talents as well as birth. In the war which Canute carried on against the Vandals, Godwin commanded the English troops, and eminently distinguished himself in that service: in return for which his sovereign created him earl of Kent, Sussex, and Surry, and married him to a lady, to whose brother he had before given his own sister. Godwin's wife dying without issue, he afterwards married Girth, sister of Sweyn, the king of Denmark preceding Canute, by whom he had seven sons and a daughter. During the reigns of Canute, and his son Harold, Edward had resided at the court of Normandy, where he had imbibed the manners of the country, a strong attachment to which he retained when he mounted the throne of England. The popularity and interest of Godwin had obliged Edward to carry it fair to that nobleman, and even to contract himself to his daughter; although he cherished in his heart the most deadly hatred of him, founded on a suspicion of his having delivered up Edward's brother Alfred to Harold, who put him to death. From these motives the king deferred his purposed marriage for some time; and although he did afterwards marry Editha, the earl's daughter, yet he ever obstinately refused to cohabit with her; and no sooner did he find himself firmly seated on the throne, than he determined to remove his powerful father-in-law: but before he proceeded to an open rupture with him, he

thought it adviseable, as a previous step, to conciliate the affections of his subjects, by some action highly popular; accordingly, in the year 1051, he caused the tax of Dane-geldt, which was then levied annually, and produced that year the sum of forty thousand pounds, to be abolished. soon after which he openly accused Godwin, and his sons, before the general assembly, which he had convened for that purpose; by whose sentence they were ordered into banishment.

Godwin found an asylum in Flanders: the earl of that domain furnished him with some ships, with which he infested the eastern coasts of England, whilst Harold, his son, made the like depredations towards the west. In a few years, they drew together a more formidable armament, both from Flanders and Ireland. The fleet which king Edward had fitted out to oppose the earl, from some of those secret springs that sometimes influence the affairs of kingdoms, was rendered ineffectual, and at length laid up inactive in the Thames. Godwin was too able a commander to let slip so favourable a crisis. He put to sea immediately, and made a descent on the Isle of Wight, where he levied heavy contributions, to compensate himself for the confiscation of his effects in England. Being there joined by Harold, he sailed round to the Thames, and advanced towards London, where the king's fleet lay, but ill-conditioned to oppose him. Moderation, in the use made of these signal successes, was the true point of policy. The earl, in a very submissive manner, represented to his sovereign, that necessity, not an alienation from his duty, had compelled him to appear in arms, but that his disposition prompted him to be the most faithful of subjects. The lords, about the person of the king, strongly urged the necessity of receiving the banished earl into favour, and the exigency of affairs,

at length, prevailed over the rooted antipathy of the king, and the act of assembly, passed against the earl and his family, was repealed.

Godwin did not long enjoy the honours that were thus restored to him: he died the next year; leaving his son Harold to strengthen that interest with the nobility, which his father had largely possessed. Although Harold could not efface from the king's mind, the dislike which he bore him, merely because he was the son of earl Godwin; yet his influence was such, that the whole power of government became vested in him; and he so conducted the affairs of the kingdom, as to make the reign of a very weak prince most happy to the English. From the time of the return of earl Godwin and his family, king Edward had kept up a close friendship with William, duke of Normandy; and after the death of his nephew, Edward secretly promised to appoint him his successor in the kingdom of England: a promise not confirmed by the consent of the nation. On the contrary, the apprehension of being subjected to the government of a foreigner, which Harold, who was informed of the intentions of William before Edward died, took care to excite, inclined them the more to set aside Edgar Atheling, as, in such a conjuncture, the defence of the kingdom seemed absolutely to require a prince of superior valour and wisdom. The best expedient would have been to have given the crown to Edgar, and have made Harold protector: but it was not then thought of, or at least we do not find that it was ever proposed*.

Edward seemed no way solicitous to transmit to his people the blessing of peace after his decease, by fixing the important concern of a successor to his throne: accordingly, when he died, in 1066,

* Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. Vol. I. p. 7. quarto edition.

three competitors contended for it. Edgar Atheling, indeed, was a minor: but being the only prince of the family of the ancient kings, he had a clear and incontrovertible claim: but the popularity and superior talents of Harold, silenced the plea of hereditary right. William, duke of Normandy, likewise put in a claim, founded on the deceased king's promise: but to this the assembly, when convened, paid no kind of regard. But, though Harold had no right to the crown from having descended from the Saxon kings, yet the general voice of the people, which assigned the sovereignty to him, may be considered as giving him an equitable right of possessing it. Nor does it appear that the kingdom was at all divided in its opinion concerning this election; which unanimity would have determined a man less inflexible than the duke of Normandy, to have desisted from his claim. Harold had a navy much superior to that of the Normans, both in the number of ships, and quality of his seamen: he was farther strengthened by an alliance with Denmark, being of the royal blood of that nation: among his own people, there was no discontent to invite or assist an invader; and the Normans were, of all foreigners, the most odious to the English. When all these circumstances are considered, it may well be affirmed, that there is no enterprize recorded in history, more surprizingly bold than this of the duke of Normandy. But, says a noble author, "what in an ordinary man would be a culpable rashness, in a great man is a proper exertion of extraordinary talents."* Nor had William fewer difficulties to surmount in forming necessary alliances, than from the dislike of the English to his cause; but such was his management, that he found

* Lord Lyttelton.

means to get together an army of fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand foot; to transport which, he constructed, as some authors assert, a fleet of three hundred sail*. The charge of providing and equipping these ships was borne by his vassals, who contributed to it in proportion to the lands each of them held. But Normandy alone could not furnish all the seamen such a navy required, and therefore it may be presumed that some were obtained from Conan, duke of Bretagne, with whom an alliance was formed; and many from Flanders, and the earldom of Boulogne.

Whilst a force was collecting in Normandy equal to the object it was destined to accomplish, Harold found himself compelled to make head against a domestic foe. This was his own brother, Tosti, or Toston, a man given up to the worst passions, and capable of gratifying them by the worst means; the infamy of his conduct had drawn on him the hatred of all ranks of people, and the desperate situation into which his dissoluteness had plunged him, served to heighten the natural depravity of his disposition, and impel him to the most lawless acts. This man, in the life-time of Edward the Confessor, had been earl of Northumberland, where he rendered himself so odious, that an insurrection of the people drove him out of his government. From thence he repaired to the court of William of Normandy, and offered his services to farther the duke's views upon England, after the death of the Confessor. How he succeeded in this application is not known, for it is not certain from whence he drew his force; nevertheless he became the commander of sixty ships, with which he made a descent on the Isle of Wight, and proceeded along the coast to Sandwich, marking his progress with

* Gemeticen, l. 7. c. 4.

brutal outrages. This attack being unexpected, Harold was unprepared to oppose it. Tosti soon after joined his force to Harold Harfager, king of Norway, who, with three hundred large ships, having on board a considerable army, entered the mouth of the Humber in September 1066. Finding no force capable of opposing them, they advanced to York. Harold, on news of this descent, soon despatched a fleet to the north, and, with great expedition, led his army in person to attack the invaders. In a general engagement, which happened soon after, the king of Norway, and Tosti, the brother of Harold, were both killed, and almost the whole Norwegian army cut to pieces. The like ruin fell on their fleet, which was totally destroyed, except about twenty ships; and those, by the clemency of Harold, were permitted to return, with Olaus, the son of the slain king*. At the same time the duke of Normandy, who had been impeded in his design for more than a month, by contrary winds, at length sailed from St. Valéry, at the mouth of the Somme, and landed, without opposition, at Pevensey, in Suffex, whilst Harold's fleet was employed in the north. Thus he escaped the risk of a sea-fight, which, if the whole navy of Harold had been brought against him, would, very probably, at once have crushed this formidable invasion. He landed his troops without meeting any opposition.

Such was the propitious outset of William's affairs: on the other hand, Harold was at the head of a victorious army, by whom he had entirely destroyed a very formidable foe; he led on an united kingdom to the contest: his personal merit; the great exploits which he had performed in arms, together with the mildness and generosity of his

* Lyevelton, Vol. I. p. 17.

nature,

nature, rendered him universally beloved ; whereas the duke of Normandy was as generally odious to the English. The only chance which he had of forming a party in the kingdom, was by gaining over the clergy to his interest, in consequence of the approbation which Alexander II. who then filled the papal chair, had given to his enterprize. When the duke of Normandy landed in England, he spent fifteen days in raising forts at Pevensey and Hastings, to cover his ships, and thereby secure a possibility of retiring out of England, if he should be defeated. Camden, indeed, asserts, that he burnt his fleet, to cut off from his army all hope of retreat : thereby hoping to inspire his troops with a desperate resolution to conquer or die : but in this particular he is certainly mistaken.

No sooner had the news of the duke's descent in England reached Harold in the north, than he returned with all speed to London ; and, contrary to the importunate remonstrances of his best friends, determined to lead his army, in person, against the invader. The two armies encamped very near to each other, both alike inclined to stake their cause on the issue of a decisive action. Harold relied so much on the bravery and attachment of his troops, that their inferiority, in point of number, to the enemy, did not deter him from joining battle. In cavalry he was very essentially inferior. To supply, in some measure, this defect, he made choice of an advantageous spot of ground, a gently-rising hill, and disposed his army with great judgment. The few cavalry which he had, he dismounted, and formed his whole army into one deep phalanx of heavy armed foot. The royal standard of England was fixed on the spot where Battle-Abbey now stands. His troops fought with Danish battle-axes, javelins, and darts ; but they did not make use of long or cross bows, both

which weapons were employed with great success by the Normans.

William led on his troops against the English thus posted, who maintained their advantageous ground with great firmness: an obstinate conflict, fought hand to hand, ensued. At length the auxiliary troops, both horse and foot, that were posted on the left wing of the duke of Normandy's army, fled; but being too impetuously pursued by the English, the Norman chief, who never lost sight of an advantage, surrounded their pursuers with fresh troops, and cut off some thousands, whilst exulting in the view of victory. The attack was then renewed on the English army, which, although diminished, still maintained that firm phalanx in which it was first formed, and which still continued impenetrable; and all attempts to break their ranks failed, until the duke effected by stratagem, what force could not accomplish. He caused his men to feign a flight, which drew the English into a pursuit, disordered their ranks, and lost them the advantage they had till then held. The Normans rallied, turned on their pursuers, threw them, in their turn, into disorder, and a great slaughter ensued.

Whether Harold himself was deceived by this stratagem, or that he could not restrain the ardour of his soldiers, is uncertain: the English were, however, on this occasion, deficient, either in judgment or in discipline. They sustained, by this stroke, a great diminution of their force, which was, at first, greatly outnumbered by the enemy: but even after this discomfiture, Harold still continued on the hill, with a considerable part of his army, unbroken as before; so that the victory still remained undecided, after they had fought from nine o'clock in the morning, to the close of the day. It was then that a random arrow, from a
Norman

Norman bow, deprived the king of England of life; it pierced the ball of his eye, and, entering into his brain, killed him on the spot.

The bravery of the English sunk with their chief: the Norman cavalry no longer found their ranks impenetrable. Having made an impression, they rushed forward with redoubled fury, and put the whole English army to the rout. A dreadful slaughter ensued. Gurth and Leofinc, Harold's two brothers, were among the slain; the royal standard was taken, and the shattered remains of the vanquished army fled into the woods that lay behind them. Thus terminated the famous battle of Hastings, in which the English, although defeated, shewed at least as much valour as their conquerors, but less expertness in the discipline and art of war. It was fought on the 14th day of October, 1066.

Neither the loss the English had sustained in this day's action, nor the death of their king, would have ended the war, if unanimity had been preserved among the leading men in the nation: but the distracted councils which followed, completed those designs of William, which his arms had only partially effected. The English fleet then consisted of seven hundred ships of war: these were stationed between Pevensey and Hastings, whilst the naval force of the duke owed their safety to the protection of those harbours*. He was, therefore, cut off from receiving any considerable supplies or reinforcements from the Continent; winter was approaching, and he had no magazines; his cavalry, therefore, which made five parts of six of his whole army, could be but ill supplied with forage in an enemy's country. The nation was heartily disposed in favour of Edgar Atheling, and

* *Pictaven Gest. Gul. Ducis, p. 201. sect. 2.*

it had only to fix on a proper person to conduct the affairs of the kingdom, and oppose the enemy, then triumphant in the heart of the kingdom, during the minority of that prince; but it does not appear that this expedient of a regency, to which they had not been accustomed, was ever proposed.

Most of the bishops now began to avow an inclination to acknowledge the title of the duke of Normandy, whose pretensions had been graced by the approbation of the Pope; and the temporal lords, being disabled, by their dissensions, from supporting the choice they had hastily made, were doubtful and fluctuating in all their measures.

The first step taken by the duke after his victory, was to attack Dover Castle, which surrendered to him on the first summons, although defended by a numerous garrison: such consternation had the catastrophe of Hastings spread every where. William then proceeded towards London; and though he was seized with a severe fit of sickness on his march, yet he would not suffer the progress of his army to be stopped. The inhabitants of London surrendered up to him themselves, and their city, on his approach, and gave him hostages for their fidelity. Edgar also, in this posture of his affairs, resigned himself into the hands of William, and, with his person, his kingdom.

Thus ended the government of the Saxons in England; two hundred and thirty-seven years after the uniting of the Heptarchy, and six hundred and seventeen from the landing of Hengist and Horsa, their first leaders, or princes*.

We have now gone over the early period of the history of England; which exhibits little more than a picture of ferocious manners, where the love of the human species appears to have been circum-

* Lyttelton, Vol. I. p. 28.

scribed within the limits of the community to which each man belonged, and every country wears the aspect of perpetual hostility to its neighbour. Man, in a state of barbarism, is the most savage of all animals: it is only civilization, and the benign influences of a religion that inculcates universal kindness and moderation, which tame and humanize his nature. But when justice tempers force, the warrior is not more distinguished for his valour in the field, than for his compassion to a vanquished foe: then it is that "the big war makes ambition virtue," and serves to preserve the proper equipoise between heroic virtue, and the soft and gentle passions of the soul. Then fortitude is neither suffered to degenerate into brutal cruelty, nor to be sunk in effeminate softness: a military spirit is kept alive, without the human race being thinned by merciless butcheries.



C H A P. II.

*Maritime Affairs during the Reigns of William I.
William Rufus, Henry and Stephen. From the
Year 1066 to 1154.*

HISTORY scarcely furnishes us with a more striking instance of a great and warlike people being brought to yield by the issue of a single battle, than that of England at this time. But if William deserves to be celebrated for his martial qualities, his good fortune must be acknowledged to be as remarkable as his talents: the complexion of the times strongly favoured his views; the clergy were soon won over to his interest, because it had received the sanction of the see of Rome. Edgar Atheling, his competitor, was then a minor, though no author has informed us what was his age; but the imbecility of his mind damped every effort which the nation would otherwise have been disposed to make in his favour, for he was the darling of the English. The most considerable among the nobility were, the earls Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof; but their opposition to the Norman was not shewn by a vigorous exertion of their combined strength: whilst each wished to throw off the yoke of a foreigner, he saw a rival in his coadjutor. Nothing, therefore, could be more favourable to William, than the situation of the kingdom at that time, which he took care to avail himself of effectually, by behaving with a conciliating moderation, and giving the most solemn assurances of his desire to govern the kingdom under the restrictions prescribed to the Saxon kings;

kings ; whereby the nobility, in general, werefoothed into acquiescence.

On Christmas Day, 1066, William was crowned in Westminster Abbey ; when the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Coutance, who officiated in the ceremony, separately demanded of the nobility, prelates, and people of both nations, who were present and assisting, whether they consented that he should reign over them ? And, with joyful acclamations, they answered, that they did *. Before he ascended the throne, he made a compact with his new subjects, by his coronation oath, which was the same with that of the Saxon kings † : which solemn engagement he did not immediately violate, but dispensed to all impartial justice, and even conferred great favours on the English. He also encouraged intermarriages between the Normans and the English, and seemed to wish to make them one people. Two things, however, concurred, to give a different turn to the conduct of William. His natural disposition was fierce, turbulent, and despotic ; and his astonishing successes gave full scope to the natural bent of his mind. No wonder then that he grew impatient of restraint, and dissatisfied at any thing short of unlimited power : add to this, that his Norman vassals, who had embarked with him in the design of conquering England, were leagued mercenaries, encouraged to this desperate undertaking, by the hope of becoming great by the wealth and dignities of England. William, therefore, could not conciliate the affections of his new subjects by acts

* Piétav. Gest. Gul. Ducis, p. 205. Orderic Vita, l. 3. p. 503. † The substance of the oath was, " That he would protect the church, and its ministers ; that he would govern the nation with equity ; that he would enact just laws, and cause them to be strictly observed ; and that he would forbid all rapines and unjust judgments." William of Malmfbury adds, that he promised to behave himself mercifully to his subjects, and to govern the English and the Normans by the same laws.

of moderation and popularity, without making malecontents of his foreign chiefs. He, therefore, soon threw off the mask under which he had effected his designs. His first act of severity was, confiscating the estates of all the English who had fought against him at Hastings, and giving them to the Normans, and other foreigners, in his service. William well knew that the spirit of the English was yet unconquered; and that, though they had submitted to the government of a foreigner, they would not endure the yoke of a tyrant: he, therefore, established garrisons of foreign troops in all parts of the country, bridling the towns with forts and castles.

No sooner did William give these intimations, that he placed more dependance on his military strength than on the affections of his subjects, than a spirit of jealousy and discontent overspread the kingdom. In the second year of this reign, Edgar Atheling was persuaded to fly into Scotland.

In order to pay his troops and fleet, William revived the tax of Dane-geldt, under another name; for after the conquest, to the time of Henry II. it was called Hydagium. The sons of Harold quitted England, and retired to Ireland, carrying with them the whole of the English navy, whilst many of the discontented English lords repaired to Denmark, and were very kindly received by Sweyn II. who still retained his pretensions to the crown of England. This prince equipped a considerable fleet, on board of which he embarked a large body of troops, trusting the command of this armament to Osborn, his brother-in-law.

In August, 1069, this armament entered the mouth of the Humber. On their landing, they were joined by Edgar Atheling, the Scotch, and many discontented English. A large body of Normans, which garrisoned York, first fell a prey
to

to this combined army, and three thousand of them are said to have been put to the sword. The Danes then advanced towards London, whilst William collected together an army to oppose their progress. But when he had marched out to meet them, finding it not adviseable to hazard a battle, he aimed to sap that power by a secret negotiation, which he doubted of overthrowing in the field: he found means to bribe the Danish general to quit the kingdom, giving him leave to ravage the country along the coast. Having thus broken a confederacy that threatened no less than the dispossessing him of his crown, the partial inroads of particular chiefs were easily repelled. Harold's sons, Godwin and Edmund, made a descent in Somersetshire, and afterwards appeared before Exeter; but they were constantly worsted; and, at length, grown weary of their ineffectual attempts, they abandoned all designs upon England, and retired to Denmark, where they found a quiet retreat. A number of malecontents were likewise collected together in the Isle of Ely, but they were reduced by the vigilance of the king. Scotland too, which had ever been ready to abet designs against the Normans, at length was attacked both by sea and land. Malcolm, who then reigned, seeing his kingdom likely to suffer severely in the contest, made terms with his assailant*.

The misunderstandings between the king and his English subjects became every day more violent, and the partiality of the former to the Normans, more mortifying. All places of trust were taken from the one and given to the other. To establish himself on the throne now became the only object with the king, in effecting which he spurned at justice and humanity. At this melancholy period

* Chron. Saxon. An. Dom. 1072.

of the English history, the Normans are said to have committed continual insults on the conquered people, who seldom found any redress from their governors. The English, irritated by such treatment, revenged themselves by private murders; and a day seldom passed, but the bodies of assassinated Normans were found in the woods and highways, without any possibility of discovering the murderers. It is represented as the peculiar grievance of those times, that the English were deprived of arms, and were forbid having any lights in their houses after eight o'clock in the evening. At that hour a bell was rung to warn them to put out their fire and candle; and this, which was called the Curfew, was a custom very common upon the continent, but was very grating to the ears of a people accustomed to the voice of liberty.

The English bishops were soon after deprived of their sees, which the king filled with foreigners devoted to his will. Alexander II. the then pope, was glad to seize this occasion of bringing the English church into a state of subjection to that of Rome, from which it had, till then, preserved itself free, beyond mere compliments and forms of respect*.

In the year 1077, Robert, the eldest son of William, encouraged by the king of France, pretended a right to possess Normandy, even during the life of his father. To bring this unnatural son to his duty, the king passed over, with an army, into Normandy; but Robert led on his troops with conduct and intrepidity, and, in an engagement, unhorsed and wounded his father. Not knowing with whom he fought, the prince was proceeding to deprive his adversary of life, when, at the very moment

* Lyttelton's Henry II. Vol. I. p. 44.

that his arm was lifted for the stroke, he discovered him to be his father by his voice, which brought the youth from a conqueror to a suppliant, and led him to relinquish his claim, when he was on the point of obtaining it. Such an act of contrition palliates, in some measure, the infamy of a conduct in itself the most atrocious !

After suppressing this unnatural rebellion, the chief danger to which William was exposed seemed to arise from Denmark, where Canute IV. the son of Sweyn II. then reigned*. This prince resolved to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of England, which he claimed by right of inheritance, from Canute the Great. He was incited to this attempt by the countess of Hainault, whose son was earl of Flanders, and furnished the Danish monarch with six hundred ships, whilst his own amounted to a thousand†. It does not appear what number of troops were destined to embark, or how many of these vessels were ships of war ; but William was so alarmed at the enterprize, that, in addition to the military force of his kingdom, he hired foreign mercenaries from all parts of Europe, as far even as Spain, and brought a vast army of them over into England. He had, indeed, sufficient reason to expect the revolt of many of his subjects, especially those of Danish race ; nor could he be certain that they would not be assisted by the Welsh and the Scotch. But he was delivered from the danger he so much dreaded, by civil disturbances arising in Denmark, which occasioned the murder of Canute.

No sooner was the impending storm from the north blown over, than William turned his arms against Philip, king of France, whose territories he entered by Normandy. Whilst he was laying

* An. Dom. 1085.

† Malmsh. de W. I. 1. 3. f. 60.

waste the country with fire and sword, he died, as some authors say, of a rupture, occasioned by bruising his belly against the pommel of his saddle, in leaping a ditch*, in the year 1087, the twenty-second of his reign, and fifty-ninth of his age: other authors say the sixty-fourth.

If we view the character of this prince, in connection with the manners of the times in which he lived, it will appear in great splendor. The talents which constitute a great general, were considered, in that age, as the noblest virtues, and these William possessed in a very eminent degree. His courage was an habitual principle which never forsook him, even when dangers threatened him on all sides. His bodily strength was superior to that of most other men. It is said, that none but himself could bend his bow; and William, of Poictou, relates, that the duke, upon his landing in England, having been out with a small party to reconnoitre the country, as he returned, was obliged, by the difficulty of the road, to dismount, and proceed on foot. William Fitzosborn, one of his attendants, and remarkable for vigour both of body and mind, was so fatigued, that, at length, he found himself unable, any longer, to carry his shield; upon which the duke took it, and bore it, together with his own, till they arrived at the camp. Nor was his knowledge of the military art less distinguishing than his robust form; all historians agree, in describing him as one of the greatest generals of his age. His pursuit of glory was never, for a moment, suspended by the blandishments of pleasure: the seductions of beauty were not able to lead captive his inflexible mind, but continence and abstemiousness marked his character, even from his early manhood. He married Matilda,

* W. Malmf. l. 2. de W. I. f. 63. et Ord. Vital. sub. An. 1087.

daughter

daughter of the earl of Flanders, and was never suspected of any act of infidelity to her bed. But these good qualities, which give William a distinguished place in the catalogue of heroes, were sullied by many flagrant defects. His soul appears to have been destitute of every generous and humane sensation; an insatiable thirst for power reconciled him to the most unwarrantable means of acquiring and preserving it; to the English he was, at first, a simulated friend, but soon became an unrelenting tyrant, which appears in his depopulating large tracts of country for the pleasures of the chase, making the habitations of men become the haunts of beasts. So little was he possessed of the talents which conciliate affection, that his Norman lords became almost as discontented subjects as the oppressed English.

His queen, Matilda, brought him four sons and five daughters. Robert succeeded him in the dukedom of Normandy; Richard was killed in a stag-hunt in the New Forrest; William succeeded him in the throne; and Henry, after the death of William II. became king of England. Of his daughters nothing farther need be said, than that Adela, one of them, married Stephen, earl of Blois, and had a son of the same name, who, in process of time, became king of England.

William I. according to Echard, held fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors; besides lands in Shropshire, Rutlandshire, and Middlesex. His revenue further consisted in all the quit-rent tolls, &c. specified in Doomsday Book, collected from all parts of the kingdom. He had also a perpetual land-tax, named Hydage, which before had been levied under the title of Dane-geldt. Add to these immense revenues, escheats for forfeitures for treasons, felony, or failure of heirs; also fines, wardships, &c. all which are said to have amounted
to

to three hundred and eighty-six thousand nine hundred pounds per annum, of the money of those times, which is equal to one million one hundred and sixty thousand seven hundred pounds of our money; which grievous subsidies are supposed to have been raised on only two millions of people *. Mr. Echard considers this sum as equal, in value, to five millions in our times.

The revolution effected by William of Normandy, occasioned the naval power of England to decline. Indeed, many causes concurred to draw off the attention of the succeeding kings from that bulwark of the nation. The dukedom of Normandy being annexed to the crown of England, directed the political views of the kings to the concerns of the continent; and France, from this æra, became the natural enemy of England. In these wars the English troops fought the battles of the Norman princes with great intrepidity, and eminent success. To carry on these continental wars, no farther naval assistance was required, than transport-vessels to convey the troops; the practice of making war by sea not being then adopted. Another cause of the decline of maritime affairs was, the introduction of the feudal system into England, by William the First. Some traces of it are to be found, indeed, in the Saxon constitution, but very imperfectly conforming to the essential parts of that system, which, in its full extent, was established by the Normans, as a late very able writer has shewn †. The military tenure, by which almost the whole land of the kingdom became then held, tended, very strongly, to form a nation of soldiers; and when such a spirit becomes fashionable, seamen and merchants are not held in the estimation which they merit.

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 70.
on the Laws of England.

† Sullivan's Lectures

Nor were these the only causes operating unfavourably towards maritime concerns. The Danes, who had, by their frequent invasions, kept the coasts of England in a continual state of alarm for several centuries, and thereby directed the attention of the nation to its shipping, from this time ceased their ravages, and have ever since remained circumscribed within their northern boundaries. The population in those countries became less, and consequently the motive for quitting their native country no longer subsisted. Many of these people had been destroyed in their predatory descents; and an equal, if not a greater number, became settled inhabitants of England, France, or Flanders, so that their native country was almost depopulated, and remains very thinly inhabited to this day. The same rage for emigration to South-America has reduced Spain, once the most populous country in Europe, comparatively to a desert. Sir William Temple accounts for the discontinuance of the Danish invasions, at the conclusion of the tenth century, by the growth and progress of Christianity in the north; by which a promiscuous intercourse with women, and polygamy, were restrained: learning and civility, he observes, were likewise introduced by the same means, and men began to disrelish their wandering lives, spent without any other cares or pleasures, than of food or of lust; and betook themselves to the ease and entertainment of societies; and, with order and labour, trade began, and riches followed*.

These causes attended to, it will not appear wonderful that the naval exploits of England, during the five kings' reigns from the Norman Conquest, i. e. from 1066 to 1189, should be very inconsiderable; insomuch, that what fleets or shipping we then had, were principally employed either in con-

* Memoirs of the Netherlands.

veying those princes to and from the continent, for the visiting their dominions in France, or else in the expeditions to the Holy-land; unless we except the conquest of Ireland by king Henry II.

William II. surnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair, succeeded to the throne of England; whilst the patrimony of Henry, his younger brother, consisted in treasure only.

William had scarcely settled himself on his throne, before Odo, bishop of Bayeux, his uncle, stirred up the great Norman lords to favour the claims of Robert, and dispossess his brother of the crown. In this extremity William had recourse to the English, whom he caressed as friends, and engaged to give them better laws than had ever before been established in England; to take off all illegal taxes, and restore to them their ancient freedom of hunting. By such measures he raised an army of thirty thousand men, whose fidelity and bravery maintained him on the throne, against all the attempts of his numerous and powerful enemies: which proves that the English were not (as some writers have supposed) reduced so low by his father, at the end of his reign, as to be mere abject drudges and slaves to the Normans; their force being sufficient to preserve the throne of this kingdom, to that prince of the royal family, who sought their support by acts of popularity, against all the efforts of the contrary faction. A very remarkable fact, which almost retrieves the honour of the nation*.

A large body of forces, sent by Robert of Normandy, whilst he was preparing to come over himself with a greater embarkation, was destroyed in the channel, by the ships that guarded the coast, which so intimidated the duke, that he laid aside his design.

* Lyttelton, Vol. I. p. 59.

About this time the attention of all Europe was roused to an object as remarkable as any that history every produced, namely, the wars of the Crusades, for the recovery of the Holy-land. An enthusiastic hermit, whose zeal had led him to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, beholding, with indignation, the cruel treatment which the Christians received from the Infidels there, returned to Europe, resolving to inspire the princes of Christendom with a zeal to recover the holy sepulchre. He travelled from court to court, on foot, bareheaded, practising the severest austerity, and preaching the sentiments with which he was fraught. The scheme found a warm promoter in the person of Urban II. the then pope, who enforced the expedition himself at the council of Clermont. The spirit of crusading thus excited, was caught by all ranks of people, and multitudes, in every Christian country in Europe, put on the red cross, which was the badge of their profession. Robert, duke of Normandy, who appears to have been a man more remarkable for the warmth of his feelings, and his personal courage, than for discretion or consistency of conduct, was one of the first to enlist under the banner of the cross. To procure money for so expensive an enterprize, he applied to his brother William, and proposed to mortgage to him his dukedom, for a stipulated sum. The crafty king eagerly embraced a proposal so gratifying to his ambition, nor was he very scrupulous about the means of raising the money agreed upon. The costly ornaments of the monasteries were seized without scruple; and, in order to appease the clamours of the clergy, the means were justified, by the end designed to be accomplished thereby. Having thus equipped his brother for the Holy-land, he quietly possessed himself of his dukedom. In this manner was Normandy again united to the

English crown; the possession of which caused such numerous and destructive wars, for whole centuries, as greatly depopulated both countries, without conducing, in the end, to the enriching of either.

In the fourth year of William's reign*, the king being in Normandy, Malcolm III. king of Scotland, invaded Northumberland, which having ravaged, he returned into his own country. To chastise this outrage, William raised a great force both by sea and land; and marched against Malcolm; but almost all the English fleet, employed on this expedition, was destroyed by a tempest. His views being thereby baffled, a peace was concluded by the mediation of Edgar Atheling, who was then a fugitive in the Scottish court. Two years afterwards Malcolm, in breach of the treaty, made a furious inroad into Northumberland; but being surprized by Morel, governor of Alnwick-Castle, he and his eldest son were slain†.

The Scotch, on the death of Malcolm, gave the crown to Donaldbane, the late king's younger brother, to the exclusion of his sons, five of whom survived him, but they were all minors. The young princes hereupon fled into England, and sought the protection of William Rufus, who treated them with a respect becoming their birth and claims. The government of Donaldbane soon became odious to the Scotch, whereupon William, taking advantage of the general discontent, raised an army to support Edgar, the eldest son of Malcolm, who was then arrived at full age, in his attempt to re-

* An. Dom. 1091. † The family of Stuarts, a branch of which long swayed the sceptre of Scotland, and for a century that of England, is said to have sprang from a general employed by Malcolm, whose name was Walter; and to whom, in regard of his services, he gave the office of steward, or great master of his household. *Buchanan Camden.*

cover the crown of Scotland. The command of this army was entrusted to Edgar Atheling.

There is not, in all history, a more striking instance of the changes incident to human affairs, than that the prince, who was the lineal heir to the Saxon crown, should head a Norman army, with a view to conquer the kingdom of Scotland, in behalf of his nephew; and that he should be employed in this enterprize by the son and successor of William the First. It is plain from hence, that Edgar Atheling was a character, in which ambition was not the predominant feature, otherwise so cautious and discerning a prince as William, would not have shewn him such a mark of confidence. "But," says lord Lyttelton, "though he did not fear him, he might have been justly apprehensive of future dangers to the Normans established in England, from the crown of Scotland being worn by a great-grandson of Edmond Ironside. It is equally strange," continues his lordship, "that he overlooked this objection, and that no king of that family ever claimed the realm of England by his descent from queen Margaret, the wife of Malcolm III."*

Edgar Atheling, in this expedition, defeated Donaldbane, took him prisoner, and established his nephew on the throne; from which time to the decease of Henry I. Scotland remained in peace and friendship with England.

William II. reigned almost thirteen years, and lived somewhat more than forty-two years. Concerning his death, the received opinion is, that as he was hunting in the New Forest, with Sir Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, of Pontoise, whom he had lately entertained in his court, an arrow, shot at a deer by that gentleman, struck him in the breast,

* Life of Henry II. Vol. I. p. 69.

and pierced his heart: but Eadmer, a contemporary writer, informs us, it was the more general belief of those times, that he accidentally stumbled with an arrow in his hand, and, falling upon it, drove the point through his own breast*. We are also told by Abbot Suger, that he had often heard Sir Walter Tyrrel affirm, with the most solemn oaths, at a time when he had nothing to hope or fear on the account, that he did not come all that day into the part of the forest where the king hunted, nor see him there†. And John of Salisbury, comparing the death of Julian the apostate with that of this monarch, says, it was equally doubtful, at the time when he wrote, by whom either of them was killed‡. "Perhaps," says lord Lyttelton, "the arrow that slew William Rufus, was neither his own, nor Tyrrel's, but came from the hand of some other person unknown, who was instigated to aim at the breast of the king, by private revenge for a private wrong. The reputation of his successor, I think," continues the noble historian, "is too good to admit a suspicion, which might otherwise be conceived, that he knew, better than the public, how his brother was slain."§

The death of this prince closed, within a few months, the eleventh century; it may not, therefore, be improper, at this point of time, to take a retrospective view of such events as particularly fall under the subjects treated of in this work.

What are now called the Cinque Ports, first received that name from William I. who, considering Kent as the key to England, created a constable over Dover Castle, whom he appointed (in imitation of the ancient Roman custom) governor, or

* Eadmer Hist. nov. p. 54, l. 2.
Reg. c. i.
† par. c. xii.
quarto edition.

† Suger in vit. Lud. Grossi
‡ Joan Salisb. par. ii. de vita Anselm arch. Can-
§ Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Henry II. Vol. i. p. 87.

warden,

warden, of five ports; namely, Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich; to which Winchelsea and Rye are annexed as principals, and some other little towns as members only; and, in modern times, Seaford has been added to the above-named seven towns.

The contributions which the Cinque Ports were required to make to the king of shipping, appears, from an ancient record, to have been as follows:

1. **HASTINGS**, twenty-one ships, in each twenty men and above. Its members were, Seaford, Pevensey, Hodeley, Winchelsea, Rye, Thane, Becksburne, Grange, Northey, and Bulwerhith.
2. **ROMNEY**, five ships, and in each twenty-one men. Members, Promhell, Lede, Eastweston, Denge-merys, and Old Romney.
3. **HYTHE**, ships and men as Romney. Member, West-Hythe.
4. **DOVER**, ships and men as Romney and Hythe. Members, Folkstone, Feversham, and St. Margaret's: not for the land, but for the goods and chattels.
5. **SANDWICH**, ships and men as Romney and Hythe. Members, Fordwich, Reculver, Serre, and Deal: not for the soil, but for the goods.

The record, which furnishes us with this fact, is in Latin, and the king's precept is directed "To the barons, and good men of the port of **HASTINGS**." It sets forth, that "on account of certain and urgent affairs relating to us, and our faithful subjects, you get ready, and send to our port of London, your whole service of shipping, well supplied with arms, &c. so as our service be by no means retarded." It concludes thus: "We also desire of you, that over and above the above-named service which you are bound to us, you do send to
us

us all your other shipping, as well of forty tons, as of upwards of forty tons of wine, well-furnished as aforesaid; which last demand, however, above your wonted service, shall not be drawn into consequence hereafter *.

It seems to have been about the close of this century, that Merchant-guilds, or Fraternities, which were afterwards styled Corporations, came first into general use in many parts of Europe. Mr. Madox thinks they were hardly known to our Saxon progenitors, and that they might, probably, be brought into England by the Normans; and it is likely, that both French and Normans derived them from the free cities of Italy, where trade and manufactures were much earlier cultivated †.

The last year of the eleventh century is generally fixed on by historians, as the time of the formation of the famous Goodwin-sands, on the coast of Kent, so dangerous, and frequently fatal to shipping. It is said, that all that tract of land, which at low water is now dry in the Downs, was, till then, firm or dry land; and having once belonged to the famous Godwin, earl of Kent, took the name of Goodwin [Godwin] Sands. They were occasioned by a violent inundation of the sea, which rising to an unusual height, swept away houses, with their inhabitants, cattle, and stores. Ever since which time the sea has flowed over them every tide.

The Lombards, who inhabited the free cities of Italy, situated in the country, which, at this day, bear the name of Lombardy, had great dealings in England, under the Norman kings, as bankers, or usurers; and gave their name to a street in London, which it has ever since retained ‡.

* Brady's Appen. No. 26.
Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 70.
Vol. i. p. 36.

† Madox's Firma Burgi, c. i. sect. 9.
‡ Anderson on Commerce,

In the year 966 the town of Dunkirk, of which we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the more advanced periods of this history, was built by Baldwin, earl of Flanders.

The death of William II. caused two competitors for the crown: Robert, who was engaged in the holy war; and Henry, the younger brother, who remained at home. The right of succession evidently pointed out the first, but the latter was upon the spot; besides, he recommended himself to the English, by having been born after his father became king, and in the kingdom of England; superadded to which, he possessed such personal virtues and accomplishments, as reflected dignity on his illustrious birth. This instance serves to confirm many former ones, which show how little hereditary succession was regarded at that time, for Henry's title prevailed, and he was elected king, by the united acclamations of the people.

On his coming to the throne, he promised to abolish all the evil customs that had prevailed in the reign of his brother, and to establish, in the realm, the best laws that had ever been given under any of the kings, his predecessors; and what is extremely memorable, his conduct entirely corresponded with his engagements.

When Robert returned from Palestine, where he had rendered his name illustrious, he found himself deprived of a kingdom, which he considered himself as entitled to govern by right of primogeniture; having, by an advantageous marriage in Germany, procured the means of redeeming his dukedom. His attempts, however, to possess himself of England, were without success. This prince possessed bravery, generosity, and a thousand good qualities, which seemed to point him out as born for greatness; but a want of settled principles, by which to govern his conduct, tarnished all his endowments,
and

and made him, throughout life, the sport of fortune. Ever governed by the present impression, he became an instrument by which cooler heads, and less impassioned hearts, accomplished their views; whilst he himself was rendered thereby incapable of promoting either his interest or his ambition.

The misconduct of Robert in Normandy, obliged many of his nobles, and the whole body of the clergy, to ask the protection of the king of England; which, in effect, was giving Henry the duchy; for such is the constant course of things, the country that has put itself under the protection of a potent monarch, will soon be brought under his dominion.

Henry passing over into Normandy, gave battle to his brother Robert, whom he defeated, and made prisoner*. From this time he lived in captivity unto the day of his death, being confined in Cardiff Castle, in Wales, for six-and-twenty years. He left a son, named William, who was surnamed Clito, (an appellation used, in that age, by the Normans, as Atheling was by the Saxons, to denote a prince of the royal blood) who, after he had struggled with misfortunes, was killed whilst he was besieging the castle of Alost, just at the time that he began to have hopes of being raised to a greatness superior to that of his illustrious ancestor William I. for if he had survived his uncle Henry, he would, in all probability, have been earl of Flanders, duke of Normandy, and king of England. By his untimely death, a way was opened for the restoration of the Saxon royal blood, in the posterity of Matilda, Henry's queen†.

In the battle which Henry fought with his brother Robert, for the duchy of Normandy, Edgar

* An. Dom. 1106.

† Lyttelton, Vol. i. p. 151.

Atheling, who had chosen to embark in the interests of Robert, although Henry had married his niece, was taken prisoner. As Edgar seems to have had a temper equally capricious with that of Robert, it may serve to account for this league. The conqueror, however, permitted this fugitive prince to return in freedom to his country, where he grew old, and died in an obscure retirement. The English had long idolized him as the only remaining male descendant of their Saxon kings; but as he appears to have been possessed of none of those shining qualifications which dazzle the eyes of mankind, at the same time that they frequently tend to involve whole nations in confusion and misery, he lived to be as much the object of national contempt, as he had before been of esteem.

From the second year of Henry's reign, in which he expelled Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, the most turbulent of his barons, out of his realm, even to the day of his death, that is, for the space of thirty-three years, there was no revolt, nor the least commotion in England. A length of tranquillity, scarce to be paralleled in the history of this kingdom, and more extraordinary then, considering how very factious, and prone to sedition, the temper of the barons appeared to be in the beginning of this, and throughout all the following reign.

But Normandy enjoyed no such halcyon times; a long war was waged between Henry, and Louis, king of France. A pitched battle was fought in the plain of Brenneville, near the castle of Noyen, in the Vixen, where the two kings commanded in person, and the English gained a memorable victory. Many of the principal nobles of France were made prisoners, and Louis himself, with great difficulty, escaped; his horse and standard were

taken; the first, Henry sent back to the king, with all its accoutrements, but the last he kept as an honourable trophy.

A peace soon followed, which put Henry in quiet possession of his continental territories, and seemed to exalt him to a very eminent height of greatness and felicity. He had a son now sixteen years of age, whose opening mind gave the most flattering presage of his future greatness; he had married his daughter, Matilda, to the emperor Henry IV. and reigned over a powerful and well-affected people. But human happiness ever rests on a precarious basis; and one unexpected calamity overspread the remainder of this king's days with a heavy gloom. Upon his return to his kingdom*, the ship which carried the prince, his son, and with him all the flower of the English nobility, having put out, in the night, from Barfleur, in Normandy, by the carelessness of the master and sailors, who were all drunk, struck on a rock that lay concealed under the water, not far from the Norman shore. The prince got into the long-boat, and might easily have been saved, as the weather was calm; but, moved with the sad cries of the young princess of Perche, his natural sister, imploring him to take her into the boat, he commanded it to be rowed back again to the ship, when so many leaped into it, that it immediately sunk; only one of the whole number on board, amounting to two hundred persons, escaped alive, to relate the circumstances of this fatal event. The dead body of the prince was sought for in vain. Even the consolation of burying him was denied to his father. He had no grave but the ocean†.

* An. Dom. 1120.

† Lyttelton, Vol. i. p. 140.

At hearing this fatal news the king fainted; and it was some time before he recovered that composure of mind, which distinguished his character, and had never been ruffled on any former occasion: and so deeply rooted was his grief, that he was never seen to laugh afterwards, during the remainder of his life.

Nothing worthy of notice passed during the remainder of this reign, except the empress Matilda becoming a widow, who was afterwards married to Geoffry Plantagenet, earl of Anjou*, whom she brought a son, which was named Henry. On this event, the king caused the nobility to take an oath of succession in his daughter's favour; not long after which he died, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-sixth of his reign.

Stephen, earl of Blois, nephew, by the father's side, to the late king, and, by his mother, grandson to William I. found means to gain over the English barons to his interest, notwithstanding the oath by which they stood bound to the empress Matilda. During the reign of Henry, the barons and the clergy were growing into power; each was a petty tyrant over those who held under him. In order, therefore, to confirm privileges so lately acquired, they joined in electing a king, who might owe to them, and not to any previous claim, his prerogative and sceptre: but to pacify their consciences in thus acting counter to the oath they had taken to Henry, recourse was had to the dispensing power of the church, and the bishops absolved them of the obligation they had entered into thereby. Matilda, who laid claim to the crown

* We are told by some authors, that the surname of Plantagenet, which descended from Geoffry, earl of Anjou, to many English kings, and became more illustrious than any other in Europe, was derived from a sprig of heath, or broom, which that earl was accustomed to wear on the crest of his helmet.

by virtue of her descent from Henry, and the election of the nobility, made in the life-time of her father, soon arrived in England from Normandy, to support her claim. A bloody civil war followed, which made England desolate and miserable. A decisive battle was, at length, fought near Lincoln*, in which Stephen shewed the most consummate bravery. The troops he led were, in general, foreign mercenaries, and headed by tumultuous barons, more accustomed to command than to conquer. His cavalry, composed of Flemings and Bretons, gave way; and his infantry, being destitute of their assistance, soon followed. The king, although deserted, scorned to fly, but being overpowered by numbers, was taken prisoner, and ignominiously laid in irons. Matilda was then proclaimed queen, but her pride and haughtiness soon disgusted the principal nobility, by whose aid she had mounted the throne. The bishop of Winchester, although brother to Stephen, had been chiefly instrumental in her advancement; but he now sat about demolishing the work he had before laboured to raise. His opposition to Matilda was so effectual, that she was obliged to quit England, and passed over into Normandy; upon which Stephen was taken from his chains, and once more invested with the diadem. But the unhappy country was not allowed to breathe from the convulsions of civil broils, on this change of its sovereign. The clergy and barons had risen to such a degree of consequence by their making and unmaking kings, that their arrogance knew no bounds. Stephen could ill brook a power superior to his own; and from these clashing interests continual dissensions arose, which were not terminated when a new

* An. Dom. 1140.

enemy arose to Stephen in the person of Henry, the son of the empress Matilda, who was now arrived at man's estate. He had long been acknowledged duke of Normandy, and, in the year 1152, landed in England, with a formidable army. The barons, ever restless, and regardless of their engagements, were again divided on this occasion; and a terrible civil war threatened the kingdom afresh, when, happily for the people, a truce was proposed between the contending powers, which paved the way for a lasting peace. It was thereby settled that Stephen should enjoy the crown of England during his life, and that Henry should be acknowledged his successor. In the treaty of peace entered into between Henry, duke of Normandy, and king Stephen, remedies are provided, expressly, for the total stagnation of trade, which the disorders of the times had produced; the counterfeit money, which had got into circulation, was prohibited, and the foreign merchants were secured in the possession of their property, and the recovery of their debts. An authentic copy of this interesting treaty is preserved in Holinshed's Chronicle, and there only*.

The king did not long survive this happy establishment of peace; otherwise he would, probably, by a wise and vigilant conduct, have made some atonement to the nation, for the calamities which his ambition had introduced into it. He died October, A. D. 1154, having reigned near nineteen years.

It appears, from the renewed charters of the Cinque Ports, that they were particularly serviceable in commercial affairs; and from thence too it may be inferred, that a trade was carried on from the coast. William of Malmesbury, who lived in

* Vol. ii. p. 62. edit. 1587.

the reign of Stephen, gives ample testimony to the commerce of the city of London: he tells us, that city was frequented by merchants of all nations; and so great a store-house was it of all the necessities of life, that upon any dearth, or scarcity of corn, the rest of the nation was cheaply, and conveniently, supplied from thence. And the same writer observes, that Bristol traded to Ireland, Norway, and other places*.

The Christian cities, at this time, lately built and building on the south shores of the Baltic, in Germany, Prussia, and Livonia, opened new scenes of commerce, and enlarged the communication between the countries of the north, and the rest of Europe.

* Gul. Malmf. de Gest. Pontif. Anglor. lib. ii. & iv.



C H A P. III.

The Naval History of England, during the Reign of Henry II. in whose Person the Saxon Line was restored. An. Dom. 1154—1189.

HENRY PLANTAGENET had the advantage of being descended both from the Saxon and Norman kings of England; but still he had not an hereditary right to the kingdom, by a lineal and regular course of succession from the Saxon royal family; for after the death of Edgar Atheling, it would have devolved to David, king of Scotland, and to his posterity after him, as descended from the elder female branch of the Saxon line. Notwithstanding this want of hereditary right, Henry's relationship to the Saxon royal blood fully capacitated him to succeed to the government, according to the ancient customs of England *. This prince had large possessions on the continent; holding, by various titles, Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. He was about two-and-twenty years of age on the death of Stephen; and had, at that early period of life, gained the character of as wise and brave a prince as any that then reigned in Europe.

The first measure taken after this prince received the crown, was to demolish the castles built and fortified by the barons and clergy, which served only as sanctuaries to guilt, treason, and debauchery. He enacted some laws, by which the people became less dependant on their barons, by whom they had

* Lord Lyttelton's Hist. of Henry II. Vol. i. p. 155.

been

been claimed as appurtenances to their estates and manors; these rights were not absolutely taken away, only the power of exercising them was, in a great measure, restrained.

He, likewise, gave charters to several towns, by which the citizens were invested with valuable immunities. These charters may properly be called the ground-work of English liberty. The struggles heretofore were, whether a monarchy, or an aristocracy, should prevail? Whether the king, or the nobility only? But by these grants, the lower orders of people began to have a just value for themselves, and to claim the prerogatives of humanity. But every thing was not accomplished when the barons were humbled, for another formidable power remained, which rivaled that of sovereignty itself, which vested in the clergy; and the attempts made by the king to reduce this ambitious body of men, instead of securing his authority, terminated in his own abasement and disgrace.

The furious spirit of Thomas a Becket proved too hard for his sovereign; and his violent death tended more to establish his cause, than the inflexibility of his conduct in life*.

In order to divert the attention of the public from the murder of Becket, Henry undertook the conquest of Ireland, a project formed long before, but not carried into effect, on account of the altercation with this prelate. The plea made use of for this invasion was, that the Irish had taken some English prisoners, whom they had sold for slaves. The more readily to gain the pope's approbation of his undertaking, (as nothing could, at that time, be attempted without the sanction of Rome) the king cleared himself, by oath, of being any way privy to the assassination of Becket, and made a solemn

* An. Dom. 1171.

vow to go barefooted to his tomb, there to receive the discipline of the church.

The fairest occasion offered for the accomplishment of Henry's designs ; for the petty princes of Ireland, being driven to desperation by the tyranny of Roderick O'Connor, who had assumed the title of monarch of Ireland, implored the protection of Henry. Dermot, king of Leinster, being expelled his dominions, applied to the king for succour to recover his territory ; thus sacrificing the interests of his country to his own ambitious views. He is, indeed, represented as a monster of lust and cruelty. Henry, like other ambitious princes, availed himself of the situation in which the affairs of Ireland then were, without regarding the justice of the cause he espoused. At first he contented himself with secretly assisting the fugitive, by permitting some of his barons to transport a force into Ireland ; but their progress was so rapid as to awaken the jealousy of the king, their master, who meant that they should be only instruments to effect his purposes, not that they should advance themselves beyond the condition of subjects. Henry, therefore, drew together a fleet of four hundred ships, at Milford Haven, in which he embarked a considerable army, which he commanded in person, and proceeded to Waterford. The appearance of so great a force, instead of uniting the different factions, by which the kingdom was rent asunder, into one common league, spread a general confusion and terror through the nation ; and, in two months after his landing, Henry found himself master of Ireland, without drawing a sword*.

Early in the year 1172, he was obliged to leave his newly-acquired kingdom, and pass over into Wales, to suppress a rebellion raised against him by

* Hollingshead's Chron. Gul. Neubrig. lib. ii. cap. 26. Matt. Paris Hist. Aug. 126.

his own children, who were encouraged thereto by Eleanor, his queen. Incensed at her husband's infidelity, particularly at his amour with Rosamond Clifford, the furious queen was indefatigable in her endeavours to light up the flame of rebellion through the kingdom. The latter part of this king's reign, therefore, bore a very different aspect from the former. The prudence and resolution which he always possessed in seasons of extremity, served to maintain him on the throne against the unnatural combinations of his family, strengthened by the power of France, the king of Scotland, and earl of Flanders, but could not put an end to the commotions. A disgraceful penance, performed at the tomb of Becket, at Canterbury, sullied the glory of his life. As he advanced into old age, his surrounding perplexities grew too strong to be withstood; worn out with trouble, he fell sick at Chinon, in Normandy; and, finding his end approaching, he caused himself to be carried into the church, and placed before the altar, where he expired, with scarce a single attendant to deplore his fall*.

Thus died the first prince of the house of Plantagenet, whose dominions were more extensive than any of his predecessors. He had reigned over England thirty-five years; during which he humbled Scotland, kept Wales in strict subjection, conquered Ireland, and held all the maritime provinces of France, even to the mountains that divide it from Spain: which led father Daniel to acknowledge, that he justly claimed, and undeniably maintained, his sovereignty over the seas†.

* 6th July, 1189, aged sixty-three years.
Franc. Tom. ii. p. 445.

† Hist. de la Mil.

C H A P. IV.

The Reigns of Richard I. John, and Henry III. From 1189 to 1272. Crusades to Palestine. Captivity of Richard I. His Wars with Philip of France; he is killed by an Arrow. Parallel between him and Charles XII. of Sweden. Conflict between John and his Barons; Laws and Regulations in his Reign respecting Commerce. Commotions in the Reign of Henry. Merchants of the Steel-yard. Corporation Charters.

HENRY was succeeded by his son Richard in all his dominions; the principalities on the continent, as well as the crown of England, and sovereignty of Ireland, acknowledging him for their head. We have already seen with what impatience he bore the life of his father, as soon as he arrived at manhood; being, at length, after twelve years struggle, possessed of the power which he had so unwarrantably fought, his restless spirit immediately prompted him to enter into a league with Philip, king of France, to recover Palestine from the Infidels. The religion of those times was totally unconnected with good morals. The zeal for the cause of Christianity, which now blazed out in Richard, was never once contrasted by the writers of his time, with that malignity of heart, which could permit him to harrow up his parent's heart with affliction, and, at length, cause him to sink under the anguish of a wounded spirit: the parricide was overlooked in the crusading monarch.

The strongest professions of friendship and reciprocal aid, were made by the English and French potentates, on settling this weighty alliance; it was agreed, that each kingdom should contribute, to the

utmost of its ability, in furnishing a naval armament, which should proceed into the Mediterranean, and maintain an indisputable superiority at sea. The rendezvous for the English was appointed at Marseilles, and the French were to assemble at Genoa. The superior force furnished by England on this occasion, astonished the king of France, and excited such a jealousy of his confederate's power, as to obliterate all the professions of friendship which had been so lately lavished.—Friendship, among kings, is no more than a state-engine made use of to further the views of each party, and deceives neither; it is a courtly term, which means no more than a suspension of open acts of hostility, until some one of the many interests which are incidental to kingdoms, shall happen to clash; immediately upon which, the phantom vanishes, and havock is let loose. Richard, in raising this armament, not only expended all the treasure which his father had left him, but procured money of his subjects, by a variety of unjustifiable, wild, and extravagant means; whereby, according to Maimbourg's History of the Croisade, he was enabled to equip, in the ports of England, Normandy, Bretagne, Poictou, and Guienne, one of the finest fleets that had ever before been put to sea. He proceeded with this fleet to Sicily*, where a difference arose between him and Tancred, king of that island; in consequence of which Messina, its capital, was stormed, and heavy contributions levied on the wretched inhabitants.

Scarcely had the king quitted the port of Messina, than a violent storm dispersed his fleet; three of his best ships, with all on board, perished; others were driven on the coast of Cyprus, on board of one of which was Berengaria, daughter to Sanctius, king of Navarre, who was contracted to Richard, and in her

* An. Dom. 1190.

train were many ladies of the first quality. The king of Cyprus, who has named Isaac, treated all, who were driven on his coast, with unmerciful severity, plundering them of their effects, and committing them to prison. Richard soon chastised this breach of hospitality; for, on the tempest subsiding, he collected his scattered force, and making a descent on the island, subdued it in a fortnight, taking the tyrant prisoner.

Here he solemnized his marriage with the princess of Navarre, and caused her to be crowned; but without suffering the softer passions to divert him from his purpose, he collected together his whole fleet, consisting of two hundred and fifty stout ships, and upwards of sixty galleys, and he proceeded to Acon, or Ptolemais, on the coast of Palestine. In his passage thither he fell in with a Saracen vessel, of prodigious bulk, laden with military stores. Matthew Paris calls it *Dromunda*, and tells us, that the ships of the English fleet attacked it briskly, though it lay like a huge floating castle on the sea: after an obstinate conflict they boarded, and made prize of it, although it was defended by fifteen hundred men*. The cruel conqueror, in whose heart compassion never found a place, caused almost the whole crew, to the amount of thirteen hundred, to be thrown into the sea.

Richard, after this, arrived at Palestine, where he eclipsed all the other Christian princes. He fought with, and overcame Saladine, the famous leader of the Saracens, and slew forty thousand Infidels. In consequence of these signal successes, he subdued several cities, and gained great reputation for conduct in war, as well as for personal bravery; but from his heroic exploits he derived no real advantages to himself, or to the cause in which he was engaged. This active campaign was

* Hist. Angl. 163.

terminated

terminated by a truce for three years, which being ratified, Richard determined to repair to his own kingdom.

Accordingly he set sail on his return home, but a violent tempest drove his ships into the Adriatic Sea, where he was shipwrecked on the coast of Istria. Having, with great difficulty, escaped on shore, he disguised himself in the habit of a pilgrim, intending, privately, to pass through Germany, in his way, overland, to England; but he had only reached Vienna, when he was discovered, and made prisoner, by Leopold, duke of Austria, with whom he had some difference in Syria, and who basely availed himself of this opportunity to revenge his private quarrel. After making him endure all the ignominy and hardships of confinement, the duke sold his royal prisoner to the emperor Henry VI. who unjustly detained him, until his enlargement was purchased by his subjects, at the expence of one hundred and fifty thousand marks. So that England, once more, saw her brave monarch return, crowned with ineffectual conquest, and who had been no less collected and inflexible whilst he remained for fifteen months a captive, than in the hour of triumph.

In the spring of the year 1194, the king returned to England, where he found his absence had been attended with many inconveniences; and that his brother John, who had been left regent, had grievously abused the trust reposed in him. In this interval of repose he made a code of laws, relating to sea-affairs, which are called the laws of Oleron, from an island in the bay of Aquitaine, where they were enacted.

As a state of tranquility ill agreed with a mind formed for living in perpetual storms, he presently engaged in a war with his former good friend and ally, the king of France; whose perfidy, however, had

had justly excited his resentment. Richard drew together a considerable fleet, on board of which he embarked a large body of troops, and arriving in Normandy, by his presence, disconcerted the schemes of his rival, which were levelled at the entire reduction of his possessions on the continent*. Five years were wasted in this war with Philip; at length, each party being exhausted, and tired out, without having any advantage to compensate for the inconveniences sustained, a peace was concluded, and the English monarch, once more, passed over to his neglected kingdom.

The turbulent spirit of this prince was sure to keep him in a perpetual state of hostility; one of his vassals having incensed him by withholding some treasure which he had discovered on his land, a proportion of which he only tendered to his prince, the king laid close siege to his castle, and whilst he was surveying the works, he received a wound from an arrow, of which he soon after died†; but not until the fortress was surrendered, and the soldier, by whose hand the wound was given, was brought before the dying king; who sternly demanded of him, why he had fought his life? To which the undaunted murderer replied; "My father, and my brother, died by your hand; heaven has given me the opportunity of a just and glorious revenge." Such firmness was too congenial with the spirit of Richard, not to meet his admiration, even circumstanced as he was; he, therefore, not only pardoned him, but ordered him a present, with which act of heroism he closed his life. Marcadee, who commanded the Flemish mercenaries under Richard, had no conception of such generosity: instead of fulfilling the dying command of his master, he ordered the miserable wretch to be seized, and fled alive in his presence.

* Matt. Paris Hist. Aug. 1173.

† An. Dom. 1199.

A parallel might very well be drawn between this prince and the renowned madman of Sweden, Charles XII. The same fierce and undaunted spirit inspired each of these princes; and as they were incapable of fear, so were they of pity. The events of their lives too bear as close a resemblance as the formation of their minds; each, after triumphing in the field, being fated to endure a long and severe captivity, by which they evinced their firmness in adversity; and, at length, each met his death whilst reconnoitering a fortress to which he had laid siege. And it might be added, that each of these princes, destitute alike of the virtues and talents which constitute a truly great character, bravery alone excepted, so effectually dazzled the eyes of the people they governed, by their passion for military glory, as to obtain their concurrence in measures fatally destructive of the best interests of the state.

In this, as well as the preceding reign, the freedom of the people was, in some measure, extended, by corporation charters, which diminished the power of the barons, by weakening the feudal government. The people now began to have some, though but a small, share of power: the barons had still vast authority, though less than formerly; whilst the clergy might be considered as a body entirely distinct from the rest of the community, governed by their own laws, and professing subjection only to the pope.

JOHN succeeded his brother in the throne, although his nephew, prince Arthur, was descended from his elder brother Jeoffry. He found himself engaged in continental wars, which he knew not how to conduct; and was, at the same time, harassed with civil commotions, which he was alike unable to quell. Early in his reign he incurred the imputation

imputation of having imbrued his hands in the blood of his nephew Arthur, whose dukedom of Bretagne he had violently seized upon. Constance, the mother of the young prince, laid her case before the peers of France, and implored their interposition against her cruel kinsman: the king of England was summoned to attend, and clear himself of the crime imputed to him; and, in consequence of his refusal, the territories which he held under that crown were confiscated. Nor was this an empty threat, for the most vigorous measures were taken to subdue the provinces, now pronounced to be forfeited. John, at once both weak and cowardly; a tyrant when unopposed, but timorous in danger, saw himself stripped of them all. Philip of France, under the pretence of espousing the cause of the oppressed Arthur, then generally supposed to have been murdered, united the provinces of Normandy, Touraine, and Poictou, in a short time, to the crown of France.

The loss of these his foreign possessions, was greatly owing to the misunderstandings which subsisted between king John and his English barons. The former was an unprincipled tyrant, greedy of power, but without talents to maintain it, or moderation in the use of it; the latter, a turbulent and factious body, impatient of any superior authority, but exercising a boundless power over their vassals and dependants. It required the most consummate abilities in a prince to govern subjects so ripe for rebellion; but John possessed no such requisites, for every step which he took throughout his reign, betokened either his weakness or his wickedness. On the death of the archbishop of Canterbury, a fair opportunity presented for the regal power to extend itself, by the diminution of the ecclesiastical; the Augustine monks, and suffragan bishops, had long contended for the right of

filling vacant sees: in this instance each claimed the privilege of presenting. A politic prince would have fomented this schismatic spirit; but by taking part with the bishops against the monks, he drew on himself the papal resentment. The obstinacy of the king farther provoked the vengeance of the pope. Innocent III. incensed at the haughty and insulting language held by John, put the whole kingdom of England under an interdict, and forbade the king's subject to obey him*. Such ecclesiastical thunders, at that time, were, in themselves, truly formidable; but to give an additional force to them, Philip, king of France, received from the pope, a formal Bull, investing him and his heirs, for ever, with an absolute right and title to the crown of England, assuring him of a remission of all his sins, if he happened to conquer it. He also granted to all who embarked in this cause, the same indulgencies as were usually given to such as went upon a crusade. Philip readily became the dupe of the pope's politics; not content with having wrested from John his transmarine dominions, he devoured, in imagination, the kingdom of England also: to accomplish which, he raised a powerful army, and fitted out a fleet, consisting of seventeen hundred sail†; to oppose which, John collected a superior naval and military force, encamping sixty thousand men on Barham-Downs, in Kent, and stationing his marine armaments (which were more considerable than the English had possessed at any preceding æra) along the coasts, in this posture waited his enemy's arrival.

These naval preparations of Philip were the earliest efforts towards the establishment of that marine in France, which increased by slow but powerful degrees; and, at length, became able to contend

* An. Dom. 1212.

† Mezeray, Vol. ii. p. 622.

with England for the empire of the ocean. During the reigns of the first sovereigns of the third race, who governed that kingdom, the sea-ports, and consequently the shipping, were possessed by the great vassals of the crown. Among these the most considerable was the king of England, who held all the western coast, from the mouth of the Somme as far as Spain. Several of these maritime provinces having now reverted to the crown of France, Philip availed himself of these acquisitions, by improving his harbours, and equipping his fleets. This new department in the state was entrusted to one Eustace, a monk; the profession of arms being, in those times, a common transition, from a consecration to religion. We are told, by a French writer*, that the navy of France then amounted to seventeen hundred ships, or rather light gallies, navigated with oars. It was the practice of that age, to make up in numbers, what they wanted in strength and convenience. To these were added many transports, which served only to receive cargoes, not for martial operations. Such was the navy designed to assist in the conquest of England.

It was not the intention of his holiness, that Philip should succeed in annexing the kingdom of England to that of France; all he meant by the gift of it was, to gain to the see of Rome a farther ascendancy over the crowned heads of Christendom, and to chastise a rebellious son, who had dared, insolently, to spurn at his authority. Accordingly Pandolph was despatched from Rome, as the pope's legate to the two kings: this crafty ecclesiastic, passing over into England, so practised on the timid nature of John, that he prevailed on him to make the most abject and unconditional surrender of his kingdom to the pope; after which, proceeding to

* Hist. de la Rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, par M. Gail-
lard, Tom. II.

France, he found it much more difficult to persuade Philip to desist from his attempt on that country, now considered as the patrimony of St. Peter. This prince declared, with equal scorn and indignation, that having laid out the immense sum of sixty thousand pounds, in preparations for an enterprize to which he had been instigated by the holy see, he was resolved that menaces should not prevail on him to decline it: he complained, in the bitterest terms, of the duplicity and avarice of the pope, who engrossing all the advantages, had thrown the whole burden of the expence on him. As a previous step to the execution of these threats, he determined to attack the earl of Flanders, who alone, of all his barons, had been hardy enough to pronounce in parliament, the proceedings of Philip, both impious and unjust. He marched, at the head of a numerous army, into the dominions of this lord; subduing Cassel, Ypres, and all the country as far as Bruges. Whilst his fleet proceeded to Gravelines, and from thence to the haven of Dam, where it was attacked by the English fleet, consisting of five hundred sail, under the command of the earl of Salisbury, natural brother to king John. A most decisive victory was obtained by the English*, who took three hundred French ships, and burnt, or ran on shore, a hundred others: the French seeing no means of saving the remainder, set them on fire with their own hands, to prevent their falling a prey to the enemy. Thus was the whole French navy totally ruined as soon as formed†.

Three years after this event took place, we find Philip, of France, had gotten together another navy, consisting of six hundred and ten vessels, the command of which was given to prince Louis, the

* An. Dom. 1213.
Vol. i. p. 59. Hist. de la Rivalité, de la France, &c. Tom II.

† Matt. Paris, p. 166. Chron. Dunst.
king's

king's eldest son, who had been invited over to England by the discontented barons, with an offer of the crown, if he would assist them in dispossessing John thereof. The prince landed at Sandwich.

John had already signed the memorable charter, which is considered as the foundation of the present constitution. It was solemnly executed, in the presence of the royal and popular armies, in a meadow between Egham and Staines, called Runnemede, i. e. the Mead of Council. From the importance of its contents, this charter has been styled Magna Charta, or the Great Charter. The king, who was ever impetuous and fickle, and on whom the most sacred and deliberate engagements had no hold, when his interest, or caprice, urged him to break them, had no sooner entered into the compact, than he proceeded to violate it. The barons, in a fit of desperation, thinking every other evil light in comparison of that which they endured, made a tender of their allegiance to the king of France. Philip, ever ready to profit by the commotions in England, accepted their offer with joy; but, fearing the pope's displeasure, if he assumed a title to what was now considered as a patrimony of the holy see, prevailed upon the barons to elect his son Louis. To this league of the barons with France, the city of London lent their assistance.—We should be careful to observe every beginning of power among the Commons of England, and this seems to be one of the most early instances. This noble city was the first that freed itself from feudal government, and ventured to follow leaders of its own appointment; in short, it may, at this period, be looked upon as a little republic, contending with the powers of aristocracy, represented in the barons, and the despotism, assumed by the king*.

* Dr. Goldsmith,

John was in the eastern parts of England when his competitor landed in Kent, and having got together a considerable army, was marching to make head against him : in his progress he was overtaken by an inundation, which carried away carriages, baggage, treasure, regalia, and a part of his forces*. This calamity closed the wretched life of king John, who died in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign.

The unprincipled baseness, and gross incapacity of this prince, are too apparent, throughout his whole reign, to admit of palliation ; and the writer who undertakes to represent this prince as brave and patriotic, must surely be strongly influenced by a respect to the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and conceive a strong dislike of all efforts of the subject to throw off the shackles of tyranny : however, we agree with a certain writer, that John, very early in his reign, asserted the dominion of England, over the sea, by enacting, that if any of the commanders of his fleets should meet with ships of a foreign nation at sea, the masters of which refused to strike to the royal flag, such ships, if taken, should be deemed lawful prizes, even though they belonged to a state in amity with England. Which plainly indicates, that this striking to the royal flag, was an old right, now expressly claimed, in order to give the fullest warrant to English captains tenaciously to insist on the form of respect required by their country, and to apprise all other states of the expediency of paying it †. He also granted more, and larger charters, to cities and boroughs, than any of his predecessors, it being his interest to create a popular interest, independent of, and opposite to that of the barons. But in these grants the good of his

* Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl. 287.
Admirals.

† Campbell's Lives of the
subjects

subjects was only subordinate to the avarice of the prince; for, in the first year of his reign, we find him extorting six thousand pounds sterling from the citizens of London, for a renewal of their charter; and, in the ninth year of his reign, another charter was granted, whereby they first obtained a right of choosing a mayor, out of their own body, annually; which office, until then, was for life. By the same charter they were empowered to elect, or remove, their sheriffs at pleasure; and their common-councilmen were annually chosen, as at present*. He settled the rates of necessaries, and punished commercial frauds: he likewise made many regulations with respect to money; and, in his reign, was the first coinage of that sort which is called sterling†.

Having now gone through this disgraceful reign, let us say something of the state of commerce about this time.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the German merchants, of the Steel-yard, engrossed the commerce of England; notwithstanding which, correspondencies and treaties began to be more frequent; and a society of Englishmen, about forty years after, commenced a correspondence with the Netherlands, as real English merchants‡. By two several statutes, foreign merchants, resorting to England, were more assured of freedom and safety than formerly. The citizens and burgesses of England, now, for the first time, made a part of the legislature.

In the first volume of Rymer's *Fædera* §, we have an authentic testimony of the antiquity of the commerce, which the city of Cologne carried on with England, even before the general Hanseatic confe-

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 104.
of the Admirals, Vol. i. p. 137, 147.
Vol. i. p. 100. § Page 133.

† Campbell's Lives
‡ Anderson on Commerce,

deracy had any dealings with the English. In a letter written by king John to the magistrates of Cologne, he respectfully thanks them for the honours, benefits, and assistance they had bestowed on his nephew Otho, king of the Romans; afterwards the emperor Otho IV. hoping for their farther aid, by which the king of the Romans might arrive at the highest pitch of honour, i. e. the Imperial dignity; and, in return for the services which these citizens had rendered, king John declares, that "he takes all the citizens of Cologne, with their goods and possessions, meaning in England, under his protection; granting them free ingress and egress through all his dominions, with their merchandize, paying the due and ancient customs, agreed on and consented to, by our ancestors and ourselves."

In the year 1212, London-Bridge was built of stone, and finished. Maud, or Matilda, the empress, is said to have erected the first arched bridge of stone in England, over the river Lee, into Essex, at a village afterwards named Bow, from this bow, or arched bridge.

The forty-eighth article of Magna Charta enacts, that all merchants shall have safe conduct to go out of, or come into England, and to stay there; to pass either by land or by water; to buy and sell by the ancient and allowed customs, without any Evil-tolts, (an undue, or extravagant tax, being sometimes called Male-tolte, or Male-tent) except in time of war; or when they shall happen to be of any nation at war with England. And lord Coke, in his Commentary on Magna Charta*, thinks, that by the word *Mercatores*, was meant, merely, merchant-strangers; because there were, at that time, scarcely any English who had any concern in

* Chap. XXX.

foreign trade. And when Henry III. confirmed that great charter, it was farther provided, that, if there should be found any such foreign merchants in England, in the beginning of a war, they should be attached, without damage to their bodies or goods, until it be known how English merchants are treated by the nation against which the war is waged; and if such are safe there, then foreign merchants, found in England, shall be safe likewise. It is plain from hence, that in the year 1258, there were some Englishmen, who travelled into foreign countries as merchants; and Mr. Anderson thinks it probable, that in the year 1248, a society of Englishmen first sat on foot a foreign trade with our wool, tin, lead, and leather; which, before, were altogether exported by foreign merchants, usually styled merchant-strangers, in the law-books*. This clause, in behalf of foreign merchants, was probably inserted, because, by former ordinances, merchant-strangers were prohibited from coming into England, except at the times of public fairs being held; and even then they were obliged to leave the kingdom in forty days; which restrictions were meant to serve the native retale-traders, who were ever jealous of foreign intrusion.

Louis had been crowned king during the life of John; but his haughty deportment tended very much to weaken that unnatural union which had taken place: his army too committed great disorders. On the death of John, therefore, his son Henry, then an infant of only ten years old, was acknowledged king, not only by the adherents to his father, but by many who had opposed him. The earl of Pembroke was appointed regent, during the king's minority, which seems to be the first instance that occurs in the English history, of

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 1064

such power being delegated to a subject. The earl, shortly after, fought a decisive battle with Louis, in which the latter made a very inconsiderable stand, and was soon totally defeated, and obliged to retreat to France, to collect a fresh force to maintain his footing in England. Sailing from Calais with a fleet of eighty ships, besides transports, he was attacked by Hubert de Burgh, governor of Dover-Castle, who had drawn together the naval force of the Cinque-Ports, which consisted of forty sail. The English, on this occasion, supplied their defect of number in ships and men, by superior address, and a more skilful management of their force. They first attacked the transports, and, by gaining the wind of them, ran them down, and sunk the vessels with all on board; whilst, with their long-bows, they galled the enemy in their ships of war. To prevent the French from boarding them, they strewed large quantities of lime upon their decks, and the wind blowing fresh, carried it full in the faces of their enemies; who, not able to maintain the fight, made to shore, and landing at Sandwich, reduced the town to ashes. This defeat at sea was decisive, for Louis was immediately besieged in London, whilst the English fleet blocked up the mouth of the Thames. In this situation, being reduced to extremity, he entered into a treaty with the earl of Pembroke, whereby he renounced all his pretended rights to the kingdom of England*.

During the minority of Henry III. the power of the barons was confined within due bounds. The clergy adhered to his interest, and the people followed their spiritual guides: these were a sufficient counterpoise to the whole body of the nobility. No sooner had Henry taken the reins of government

* An. Dom. 1217.

into his own hands, than the weakness and dissoluteness of his conduct spread discord and calamity through the realm. His profuseness rendered him ever poor, and his abject spirit inclined him to submit to the meanest, as well as the basest methods of procuring a present supply. He scrupled not to beg from his subjects, at their own houses, as if he had been asking charity. Sometimes the plea urged was, his design of going on a crusade; then his subjects were drained to enable him to recover his dominions on the continent; or one of the royal family was to be portioned off. Whilst practising these contemptible impositions, he would acknowledge to his parliament of barons, that he had hitherto behaved unworthily; but, at the same time assure them, that they should see a thorough reformation in him, if they would grant him the sums he required. By such an abject prostitution of kingly dignity, he obtained vast sums; which he lavished upon parasites and prostitutes; at the same time, that he was enabled to maintain an army of foreign mercenaries, to awe his subjects into unwilling obedience. It is not surprizing, that under the reign of so profligate a prince, the naval force of the kingdom should become ineffectual for its defence. A lawless spirit of rapine having gone abroad, one William Marshall, descended from a noble family, being disgusted with the king, commenced pirate, and, fortifying the little island of Lundy, at the mouth of the Bristol channel, made great depredations on the trading vessels which entered that port. He was, at length, attacked in his strong hold, and, being taken prisoner, was executed at London. But the fate of this adventurer did not deter other male-contented from committing the like disorders*.

* Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl. p. 584.

Having practised every method of extorting money from his subjects, which mean chicane could suggest, the king, at length, entered into a treaty with his brother of France, whereby, in consideration of a sum of money, he formally renounced all claim, or title, to the dukedom of Normandy and Anjou, and thenceforth expunged them from his titles*.

This act was only wanting to fill up the measure of his crimes, and draw down upon him the resentment of an abused people. The Cinque-Ports, ever steady to his father's interests, threw off their allegiance, and fitted out a considerable fleet for the service of the barons. But as these were times of great licence, the inhabitants of those ports presently forgot the motives which led them to take up arms, and made prize of all ships, indiscriminately, that fell in their way, whether English or foreign. The spirit and conduct of prince Edward, the king's eldest son, suppressed, at length, these acts of violence.

After Edward had fought his father's battles with eminent success, his passion for arms led him to make a voyage to Syria, to support the Christian cause against the Infidels. In the war which was waged with the Saracens, Edward, like his predecessor Richard, eclipsed every other European general. Here he narrowly escaped falling by the poinard of an assassin. After having continued three years with the Christian league, he embarked on his return home, and touching at the Island of Sicily, he there received advice of the death of the king, his father, who died on the 16th of November, in the year 1271, after having reigned somewhat more than fifty-six years, and lived sixty-six. In his reign, a spirit of liberty had diffused itself from

the corporate towns through the whole mass of people, and ever after blazed forth at convenient seasons.

In the eleventh year of Henry's reign, the burgesses of Liverpool obtained, for a fine of ten marks, that their town should be a corporation by charter, and a free burg for ever; with a merchant-guild, and other liberties*.

Mr. Madox supposes, that, about the year 1232, Henry granted a piece of ground, called the Steel-yard†, in the city of London, to certain merchants of Flanders, and of the Hanse-Towns ‡ of Germany, viz. Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Cologne, &c. for the maintaining of their commerce and merchandize, duty free: yet others think the first establishment of the German merchants of the Steel-yard, considerably older than this king's reign, though it is admitted, on all hands, that, for services which these Hanseatics rendered him by their ships, in his foreign wars with France, this king augmented their privileges; and several German authors think, that those foreign merchants were fixed at London, at least as early as the Norman Conquest. Four years after this, viz. in 1236, we find the Cologne merchants the principal managers of the Steel-yard Society in London; for by a charter, in the twentieth year of Henry the Third's reign, he grants those merchants an exemption from two shillings, which they were accustomed to pay, and from all other customs; and also, that they might safely resort to fairs, and buy and sell

* Madox's Hist. of the Exchequer, ch. XI. p. 288. † So named, from their dealing much in iron and steel: but Lambetius, in his Origines Hamburgenses, thinks, that the name of Steel-yard, or, as he calls it, Staelhof, which he gives to their house in Thames-street, London, is only a contraction of Staplehoff, a place for keeping merchandize, by way of a general warehouse.

‡ The word Hanse, as explained by Lambetius, signifies a society, or college; from a German word, signifying a confederacy, or society.

freely;

freely; and three years afterwards, their privileges were further extended.

Here, says Mr. Anderson, the German merchants lived in a sort of collegiate life for several centuries, being walled in, and locked up, with strong gates, every night; carrying on a most gainful commerce by engrossing, for a long time, the whole foreign trade of the kingdom, both for importation and exportation, in their own foreign shipping*; and, in the year 1266, Henry granted a diploma, in which are these words: "We grant to the merchants of Hamburg, for ourselves and our heirs, that they shall have their society, or college, by or to themselves, throughout all our kingdom, for ever." These Steel-yard merchants, or Hanseatics, were bound, in case London should, at any time, be besieged by an enemy, to bear one-third part of the expence of guarding and defending the gate of London, called Bishopsgate; and were also bound to keep that gate in repair, at the expence of two hundred and ten marks, or four hundred and twenty pounds sterling†.

Gerard Malynes, who wrote in the reign of James I. asserts, that the merchants of the Staple were the first, and most ancient, commercial society in England; and, were so named, from their exporting the staple wares of the kingdom, which were then only the rough materials for manufactures, and consisted of wool, skins, lead, and tin. That society was put under certain regulations for the benefit of the public, and was the means of bringing in considerable wealth to the nation, as well before as after the making of woollen cloth in England. But whether these, or the merchant adventurers, were first established, is of very little consequence for us now to know.

* Vol. i. p. 114.

† Howell's *Londinopolis*, p. 98.

The historiographers of the city of London have, from their archives, found, that for half only of the year 1268, there was paid to the crown for customs of all foreign merchandize, - - -	}	£.	s.	d.
		75	6	10
For tolls in the flesh, fish, and corn-markets; and also at the city-gates, and in Smithfield, &c. -	}	289	6	4½
		£. 364 13 2½		

Which is equal to 1093 19 7½ of our present money.
Or, on an average, 2187 19 3 yearly.

In the year 1269, a treaty of commerce was entered into between Henry III. and Magnus, king of Norway; by which it was stipulated, that the merchants of either kingdom might freely resort to the other, to buy and sell merchandize; but not to carry away their goods, until paid for. Such also as should happen to be shipwrecked, might freely save and carry away what belonged to them out of such wreck, and should be assisted therein by the magistrates, &c. of each respective kingdom, where such wreck should happen*.

In this reign a statute passed against usury, which was then the well-known, and only name, for interest of money, by which minors coming into possession of the effects of their ancestors, were exempt from paying interest due thereon, at the time of such possessor's decease, until he arrived at full age; which proves that usury, or interest of money, was then legally demanded in the common course of transactions, between man and man: but we

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. i. p. 857.

find no fixed rate, or standard of interest, settled by any law of the realm, till the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII. in the year 1546*.

Matthew Paris asserts, that the only tin-mines known in the world were those of Cornwall and Devonshire, until, in the year 1241, a Cornish man, who had fled his country for misdemeanors, and resided in Germany, discovered some in Bohemia, and other parts of that empire.

De Mailly observes, that the usual way of fighting at sea, in those times, was, either by running their ships violently against those of their opponents, whereby the weaker of the two was liable to be sunk, if those that navigated her had not the address to avoid the shock; or by throwing darts, javelins, arrows, stones, &c. at each other; or else by grappling their enemy's ship, and fighting, hand to hand, with spears, arrows, and other weapons.



* See page 288.

C H A P. V.

The Naval History of England, during the Reigns of Edward the First, Edward the Second, and Edward the Third; and that of Richard II. An. Dom. 1274—1399.

THE three last reigns present to our view a succession of kings, who may well be considered as the scourges of the nation which they governed. Possessed of neither talents nor virtues, that power which they received for the purpose of promoting the interests of the community at large, they made an instrument of oppression, and the means of gratifying their pride and rapacity. If, under the rule of such princes, the nation made any progress in its commerce and strength, it must be attributed, altogether, to the native spirit of the people. Too vigorous to be suppressed, it rose superior to the restraints under which it was laid. The history of such a period furnishes little more than a detail of the vices and crimes of men: a brighter scene, however, opens to our view, in the reign which we are now entering upon. Edward the First was a prince, who justly deserves, allowance being made for the ferocious manners of the times, the encomium paid by the courtly Roman poet to Augustus Cæsar; for he defended England by his arms, adorned it by his virtues, and reformed it by his laws*; infomuch that he has been styled the English Justinian†. Possessed of great natural

* *Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes.*

HOR. EPIST. AD AUGUST.

† Lord Coke.

talents, and succeeding a prince whose weakness and injustice had rendered his reign unhappy, Edward was sensible, that nothing but a strict administration of justice could, on the one side, curb a nobility, whom the incapacity of the preceding reigns had rendered turbulent; and, on the other, appease and conciliate the people, by securing the property of individuals. To this end, he made jurisprudence the principal object of his attention; and so much did it improve under his government, that the mode of process became fixed and settled; and Sir Matthew Hale asserts, that more improvement was made in the laws of England, during the first thirteen years of his reign, than all the ages since his time have done.

As Edward came to an undisputed throne, the opposite interests were proportionably feeble. The barons were exhausted by mutual dissensions; the clergy hated the pope; and the people, as is evident from some insurrections at that time, were not much satisfied with the clergy. It was natural to suppose, that a politic and a conquering prince would take this opportunity of giving the royal prerogative its former splendor and authority. However, he was satisfied with moderate power, and only laboured to be formidable to his enemies.

The first exploit performed by this gallant prince, was the reduction of the Welsh. Llewellyn was, at that time, king of these indigenous inhabitants of Britain; and being a bold and enterprising prince, his ambitious views were carried to a romantic extent, from an ancient prophecy said to have been delivered by Merlin, by which he appeared to be destined to possess the whole kingdom, without a rival. These conceits led him to refuse paying homage to king Edward, at the same time that he strengthened himself by marrying the daughter of Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, who had
been

been the leader of the male-contents in the former reign, and was slain in battle, fighting against his sovereign. Edward immediately put himself in motion, and entered Wales with a great army, whilst his fleet harassed the coast. This so effectually annoyed the Welsh, that the haughty Llewellyn was brought to sue for peace*; which, being extorted from him in his extremity, was observed no longer than he found himself unable, effectually, to break it. Six years after the peace had been concluded, he quitted his mountainous heights, and laid waste the country bordering on his frontiers. To oppose this furious inroad, Edward drew together the whole force of his kingdom, and, in a pitched battle, totally defeated the Welsh army, and slew their turbulent chief. After this decisive victory, nothing remained to oppose his progress quite through the country. His queen being then with child, he sent for her to Caernarvon, where she was soon after delivered of a prince, whom the king named Edward, and created prince of Wales, thereby uniting it to the kingdom of England as a principality; which has ever since descended to the eldest son of the crown. Nor did his endeavours to conciliate the affections of his new subjects stop here; for he encouraged them to apply to inland and foreign trade, more than any of their native princes had done; whilst he secured their fidelity by distributing large tracts of country to his nobility; established the English laws, appointed sheriffs, and other officers, and kept all the ports in his own hands†. Foreign conquests might add to the glory, but this added to the felicity of the kingdom. The Welsh were now blended with their conquerors; and, in the revolution of a few ages, all national animosity was entirely forgotten.

* An. Dom. 1276.
 Nich. Trivet's Annales, Vol. i. p. 256.

† Walt. Hemingford, Vol. i. p. 8.

In the next year *, the first statute was enacted, to enable merchants to recover their debts, on which account it bears the name of *statute-merchant*. Two years after, there was a second statute-merchant at Winchester †, for enabling merchants, as well in fairs and markets, as in towns and cities, effectually to recover their debts. “The want of which good regulation,” says the preamble to this act, “has occasioned many merchants to fall into poverty, and also hindered foreign merchants from coming into this realm with their merchandize, to the great damage of merchants, and of all the realm.” The act mentions only three cities in England, viz. London, York, and Bristol, the mayors of which are empowered to hear the pleas of the merchants against their debtors, and to determine on the plaint. Herein the first instance occurs, since the Norman Conquest, of a legal encouragement being given to foreign merchants, or merchant-strangers, as they were styled, who, in general, met with many discouragements from the prejudices of the natives against foreigners: so little was the true interest of the nation then understood. These foreigners were chiefly Lombards, and other merchants of Italy, viz. from Genoa, Florence, Lucca, Pisa, and Venice, who then supplied all the rest of Christendom westward, with Indian and Arabian spices and drugs; also with their own fine manufactures of silk and stuffs, and with the wines and fruits of Italy ‡.

A treaty of amity and commerce was, about this time, entered into between the king of England, and Eric, king of Norway: the commerce carried on with the Norwegians was, at that time, confined to the port of Lynn-Regis §.

* Viz. 1283.
 merce, Vol. i. p. 137.

† 13th Edw. I.
 § Fæd, Vol. ii. p. 272.

‡ Anderson on Com-

On the death of Alexander, king of Scotland, several competitors arose for the crown. A civil war impended, and nothing but an umpire, appointed by mutual consent, could determine the contest without blood. All agreed to submit the decision of their respective titles to the king of England. Edward readily consented to become arbiter of this important question. After long deliberations, in which great care was taken to inculcate a latent right which Edward possessed to the crown of Scotland, the prize was awarded to Baliol, who was placed on the throne less as a king, than as a vassal of England.

Baliol was descended from the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, whilst Robert Bruce, another claimant, was somewhat nearer in descent, though by a younger daughter; he, therefore, refused to acknowledge the justice of the decision which invalidated his claims: this spirit of opposition Edward was not inclined to suppress, as he well knew that his own interest was best promoted by dissensions being kept up in Scotland.

At this time many important laws were passed of great public utility. By an act of parliament *, all kinds of merchandize were permitted to be exported from Ireland, except to the king's enemies; which shews, that commerce was not so well understood as to be made, in any degree, subservient to the political interests of princes and states: for doubtless then, as well as now, there were some Irish commodities, that interfered with the like in England; particularly wool and leather. And in much later times †, all kinds of merchandize, without exception, were allowed to be imported and exported, to and from Ireland, as well by aliens as denizens: which liberty, in later days, was deemed

* 17th Edw. I. c. 1.

† A. D. 1360. 34th Edw. III. c. 17.

unsafe and dangerous. Indeed the exigencies of the times, which the Irish took care to avail themselves of, in the year 1779, procured for that country a grant of the like immunities.

In the year 1290, the Jews were utterly expelled England, after they had lived there even before the Norman Conquest. The number that were driven out of the kingdom at this time, is said to be between sixteen and seventeen thousand; men, women, and children. They had been expelled France in 1143. By their money-transactions, they had become very rich in England; more especially in the great towns, as London, Bristol, York, Lincoln, Oxford, &c. Their greediness of gain, and injurious dealings, had long made them obnoxious to the nation: but the presents these people made to the kings, and their ministers, for a long time stemmed the torrent of popular clamour. It is computed they had paid to the crown, during the latter part of the reign of Henry III. and the beginning of Edward I. in the space of seven years only, four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, or one million two hundred and sixty thousand pounds of our modern money. For the purpose of fleecing these people, an office was created, which was called the Exchequer of the Jews, where all matters relating to them were registered; and they had also a justiciary appointed by the king. The reason assigned for their expulsion was, their exorbitant usury, and their debasing and diminishing the coin of the realm, together with many other unlawful practices*. Sir Edward Coke thinks they were not, strictly speaking, legally banished, but that the act of parliament, called *de Judaismo* †, having banished their usury, they thereupon chose to banish themselves into foreign parts, where they might live by their

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 133.

† 18th Edw. I.

usury; and that they, for that end, petitioned the king, that a certain day might be fixed for their departing the realm, with his safe conduct; but others think they were all forcibly expelled the kingdom.

Hitherto the king of England had kept on good terms with the king of France; but, at length, a violent misunderstanding arose, contrary to the wish of Edward, whose views were confined to the internal government of his kingdom, and to the reduction of Scotland; the situation of that kingdom giving the most flattering encouragement to his ambition.

Some English sailors belonging to the Cinque-Ports, being in a port of Normandy, were insulted by some of the natives; when a fray ensued, and one seaman was killed. The quarrel presently became a national one: each party thinking itself aggrieved, had recourse to the sword. One nation seized, without scruple, on the vessels of the other, and cruelly put to death, without distinction, all whom they found on board. This piratical war was carried on for a long time. At length the sea-ports of each kingdom agreed to decide the dispute by a pitched battle, on the sea, mid-way between Normandy and the coast of Kent. A furious engagement followed, in which the English vanquished their enemies amidst an appalling fury of elements; snow, hail, and a dreadful tempest beating down on the combatants. The slaughter of the French was very great, many of their ships were sunk, and two hundred and forty sail are said to have been taken*. The king of France, enraged at this proceeding, summoned Edward to appear, and answer for what had happened, on a day assigned. On the king not complying with this mandate, judgment was given that he should lose his

* Hemmingford.

dukedom of Aquitaine, as well as the other provinces which he held as feudatories of the kingdom of France. The perfidy of the French monarch, in the farther management of this dispute, deserves to be recorded. By the interposition of the queen-dowager of France, and the queen-consort, a treaty was set on foot with Edmund earl of Lancaster, brother to the king of England, for accommodating the differences between the two sovereigns. By this treaty it was agreed, that, to save the honour of king Philip, a few French troops should be admitted into certain forts and cities; and that, after this mark of submission, they should be withdrawn; and letters of safe conduct being granted to king Edward, he should pass the seas, and settle every difference in a personal conference with the king of France, who would withdraw his troops, and vacate the sentence in forty days after the submission. Edward accordingly complied with the conditions; but when Philip was required to fulfil his part of the contract, by causing his troops to evacuate the towns, he pretended an utter ignorance of any such condition having been made, and insisted on keeping what he held*.

Whether Edward was convinced that continental possessions were destructive of the true interest of England, or that he thought a war with Philip of France would prevent him from carrying into effect his designs against Scotland; we find him taking no other steps to chastise this notorious breach of faith in Philip, than fitting out three fleets, well provided with men and ammunition; one from Yarmouth, which was commanded by John de Boutecourt; another from Portsmouth, under the direction of William de Leibourne; the third, which had the care of the western coast, was

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. i. p. 164,

provided

provided in the ports of Ireland. Each of these fleets was very active in annoying the enemy.

At the same time we find him engaged in a sea-war with the king of Castile; for, in Mr. Rymer's Collection, is a letter from Dionysius, king of Portugal, wherein he beseeches him to make peace with the king of Castile, since not only the parties at war suffered much in their persons, goods, and ships, but even likewise those of other nations, carrying their goods in the ships of either party*.

At this time the first instance occurs of letter of marque and reprisals being authentically granted by the crown: it appears, that they took their rise from the following circumstance; a merchant of Bayonne, in Gascony, where the king at that time was†, had gone with a ship to the coast of Barbary, where he took in a cargo of almonds, raisins, and figs: on his voyage back, his ship and cargo were seized on by some armed force from Lisbon, as he lay at anchor on the Portuguese coast, and were carried into Lisbon, where the whole was made prize of; the king of Portugal receiving a tenth share, notwithstanding England and Portugal were then at peace. The ship and cargo thus piratically seized, were valued at seven hundred pounds (two thousand one hundred pounds of our present money.) On the merchant laying his case before Edward, the king granted him letters of marque [*Licentia mercandi*] against the subjects of Portugal, wherever he could seize their effects, and especially against those of Lisbon, for five years, or until he should reimburse himself all his losses, and no longer; and to account to the king for any surplus he should make, over and above his real damage and expences‡.

* Fædera, Vol. ii. p. 667.

† An. Dom. 1295.

‡ Rymer's Fædera, Vol. ii. p. 691.

The year 1296 seems to have given rise to a famous mercantile society, which subsists to this day with credit and splendor, both in England and Germany, viz. the Company of Merchant-adventurers of England. It is said to have sprung out of the guild of mercers of the city of London, being an association of English merchants, who first established a woollen manufacture in England. This year they obtained immunities from John, duke of Brabant, and stapled themselves at Antwerp*.

The next year king Edward granted to the Flemings a community of merchandize and commerce with England; and, particularly, free liberty to buy and transport from his territories in England, *Scotland*, Ireland, or France, wool, and all other merchandize; and there to enjoy the same privileges as the merchants of Lombardy, or any other merchants, whether English or foreign†.

About the same time an ordinance was made at Bruges, in the presence of Guy, earl of Flanders, and Walter, bishop of Chester, high-treasurer of England, concerning the conduct of the ships of England and Flanders, wherein the first mention is made of the office of admiral of the English seas; and William de Leybourne is so styled, *Amiral de la mer du dit Roy d'Angleterre*‡. It may be presumed, that the title was then created, as the same Leybourne, going with a fleet to convoy prince Edmund, the king's brother, to Gascony, three years before, is styled, in a record preserved by Rymer, captain of the seamen and mariners of the kingdom and territories of the king.

We have already shewn the designs formed by Edward to subject the kingdom of Scotland to the crown of England: the first step which he took,

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 137.
ol. ii. p. 740.

† Idem, Vol. ii. p. 759.

‡ Rym. Fœd.

after

after placing Baliol on the throne, was sufficient to apprize the Scotch that he meant to extend his superior prerogative to the utmost. A merchant of Gascony presented a petition to the king of England, setting forth, that Alexander, the late king of Scotland, had died indebted to him a certain sum, which still remained unpaid, notwithstanding frequent applications had been made to his successor Baliol for payment. It is very probable, that this was a preconcerted plan laid by Edward, in order to give him an opportunity of assuming a jurisdiction over the king of Scotland: however, he caused that king to be summoned to appear at Westminster, to answer, in person, the complaint that was brought against him by the merchant. Upon subjects equally trivial, he sent six different summonses at different times, in one year. So that Baliol soon perceived himself only possessed of the name of king, without the authority which should properly be annexed to it. Eager to shake off so troublesome a master, he revolted, and procured the pope's absolution for the infraction of the former oaths of homage. Edward, upon this, offered the crown to Bruce; willing to play off one king against the other. Bruce readily accepted the gift, however restricted and circumscribed: hereby a strong party of Scotch were gained to strengthen the hands of Edward, and enable him to subdue their native country. Many were the victories which each party had to boast during the conflict that followed: by these the conquerors acquired much honour, but each country lost the bravest of its people. At length Scotland was brought to the lowest degree of humiliation, and Edward began to anticipate the completion of his design of uniting that kingdom, as a conquest, to the crown of England. But his scheme proved abortive: the Scotch found safety in despair; and upon the king's

return to England, they boldly sallied down from their mountains, upon the English army which was opposed to them, and gained a complete victory.

This defeat served only to rouse the spirit of Edward, and determined him to take a signal vengeance: for which purpose he summoned all the vassals of the crown, without distinction. Whilst he was collecting together his entire strength, and openly threatening to march into the heart of the kingdom, and destroy it from sea to sea, death put an end to his career, and delivered Scotland from impending ruin. This prince was taken ill at Carlisle, just as he was entering the Scottish territory; and died on the 17th of July, 1307, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. His dying injunctions to his son Edward, who was destined to succeed him, were, that his heart should be sent to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and that he should prosecute the war against the Scotch, until he had entirely subdued them: He farther directed, that his bones should be carried about at the head of the army, the more effectually to strike terror into an enemy he had so often subdued.

About the close of the reign of king Edward I. those trades carried on in the city of London, which required much fuel, such as dyers, brewers, &c. first began to use sea-coal. This practice several of the nobility and gentry complained of to the king, representing it as a public nuisance; and a commission of enquiry was thereupon granted, the result of which was, that the burning of sea-coal was prohibited, and the consumer subjected to a fine. Notwithstanding which, considerable quantities of that fuel were brought to the port of London, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. As the quantity of wood for fuel decreased, the consumption of this substitute became more considerable.

Bills

Bills of Exchange appear to have been in use so long ago as the year 1007; for we find, in the second volume of Rymer's *Fædera* *, that the pope having collected much money in England, by the tenths, and other contributions, king Edward I. enjoined the Nuncio, that "neither the English coin, nor silver, in mass nor in bullion, should be carried out of the kingdom to the pope; but that the sums so raised should be delivered to merchants in England, to be remitted to the pope by way of exchange."

About the twentieth year of the reign of this prince, the compass, or magnetic needle, an instrument of the utmost importance to the purposes of navigation, was discovered by Flavio Gioia, an inhabitant of Amalfi, on the coast of that part of the kingdom of Naples called Terra di Lavora. More than a century elapsed after this, before any advantages were derived from this extraordinary acquisition. When it was first used upon the sea, and when adopted by other nations, are points not determined †. The power of the magnet to attract iron, was known to the ancients, and is mentioned by Plato, Aristotle, and Pliny: but its directive power to cause a piece of iron, touched with it, to point north and south, is, undoubtedly, of a later date.

"Edward," says Mr. De Lolme, in his *Constitution of England* ‡, "continually engaged in wars either against Scotland, or on the continent, seeing moreover his demesnes considerably diminished, was often reduced to the most pressing necessities. But though, in consequence of the spirit of the times, he frequently indulged himself in particular acts of injustice, yet he perceived that it was impossible to extend a general oppression over a body

* Page 1042.

† Page 32, &c.

‡ Lediard's *Naval History*, Vol. i. p. 35.

of nobles, and a people, who so well knew how to unite in a common cause. In order to raise subsidies, therefore, he was obliged to employ a new method, and to endeavour to obtain, through the consent of the people, what his predecessors had hitherto expected from their own power. The sheriffs were ordered to invite the towns and boroughs, of the different counties, to send deputies to Parliament; and it is from this æra that we are to date the origin of the House of Commons.

“ It must be confessed, however, that these deputies of the people were not, at first, possessed of any considerable authority. They were far from enjoying those extensive privileges which, in these days, constitute the House of Commons a collateral part of the government: they were, in those times, called up only to provide for the wants of the king, and approve of the resolutions taken by him, and the assembly of the Lords. But it was, nevertheless, a great point gained, to have obtained the right of uttering their complaints, assembled in a body, and in a legal way; to have acquired, instead of the dangerous resource of insurrections, a lawful means of influencing the motions of the government, and thenceforth to have become a part of it. Whatever disadvantage might attend the station at first allotted to them, it was soon to be compensated by the preponderance the people necessarily acquire, when they are enabled to act and move with concert.

“ And, indeed, this privilege, insignificant as it might then appear, presently manifested itself by the most considerable effects. In spite of his reluctance, and after many evasions unworthy of so great a king, Edward was obliged to confirm the Great Charter; he even confirmed it eleven times in the course of his reign. It was moreover enacted, that whatever should be done contrary to it, should
be

be null and void ; that it should be read twice a year in all cathedrals ; and that the penalty of excommunication should be denounced against any one who should presume to violate it.

“ At length, he converted into an established law, a privilege of which the English had hitherto had only a precarious enjoyment ; and, in the statute *de Tallagio non concedendo*, he decreed, that no tax should be laid, nor impost levied, without the joint consent of the Lords and Commons. A most important statute, which, in conjunction with Magna Charta, forms the basis of the English Constitution. If, from the latter, the English are to date the origin of their liberty, from the former they are to date the establishment of it ; and as the Great Charter was the bulwark that protected the freedom of individuals, so was the statute in question the engine which protected the charter itself ; and, by the help of which, the people were, thenceforth, to make legal conquests over the authority of the crown.”

EDWARD the Second succeeded his father in the twenty-third year of his age. He was a prince of very confined abilities ; and, in his youth, had attached himself to a foreign adventurer, named Gaveston. This man's proper name, according to Mr. Campbell, was, Peter de Gaberston. He was a native of Gascony ; endowed with every accomplishment of person and mind that prepossesses mankind with a favourable opinion, but concealing a foul and abandoned disposition. Like another Catiline, he had a head to contrive, a tongue to enforce, and a hand to execute, any mischief. The discerning father saw, with concern, the partiality which his heir-apparent shewed to this minion, whom he had banished the kingdom ; and therefore made

made it his dying request to his son, never to recall this corruptor of his youth. But no sooner was the young king placed on the throne, than, in open contempt of his dying father's admonitions, Gaveston was restored to favour. He next solemnized a marriage, which his father had before concluded for him, with the princess Isabella, daughter to Philip the Fair, king of France.

The wealth and distinctions heaped on the king's favourite, soon alienated the affections of his nobles: the barons had been controuled in the former reign, by the dignity and prudence of the king; but the incapacity of the son caused the dormant spirit of opposition to revive. An army was assembled to oppose and pull down this favourite: Gaveston fell into the hands of his enemies, who, without the formality of a trial, caused him to be beheaded*.

Civil commotion being thus begun, the noblest blood in the kingdom flowed in torrents on the scaffold, and in the field. The Scotch, who, in the last reign, were well nigh subdued, encouraged by the distractions which prevailed in England, and led on by Robert Bruce, whom Edward the First had made king, entered England. The king of England hereupon shook off that supineness which so closely adhered to him, and marched, with a powerful army, towards the north: but he took his measures so ill, that, in a general engagement between him and Bruce, the English were entirely defeated. After the Scottish army had ravaged the north of England, the king of that country had the audacity to attempt the entire reduction of Ireland; for which purpose he sent over his brother, named Edward, who took upon him the title of king of Ireland. But lord Roger Mortimer being despatched

* An. Dom. 1312.

to make head against these invaders, engaged and routed the Scotch, at Armagh; in which action Edward, the self-created king of Ireland, was slain.

A misunderstanding arising between Charles IV. (who had succeeded his father in the throne of France) and Edward, the latter determined to send over his queen Isabella, who was sister to the former, to accommodate the differences. Under pretence of investing prince Edward, the king's eldest son, with the dukedom of Aquitaine, and earldom of Poictou, his father was led to permit him to pass over to France, where a treaty of marriage was set on foot between the prince, then fourteen years of age, and Philippa, the daughter of the earl of Hainault. The king was no sooner informed of this intended marriage, than he sent positive orders for the return of his queen and son to England; which not being complied with, he caused them to be proclaimed enemies to the kingdom. And here the only instance occurs, during this reign, of the English fleet being employed. On this occasion war was declared against France. The admiral of the north and of the south, together with the warden of the Cinque-Ports, and constable of Dover-Castle; were directed to guard the coast from all invaders, and to seize and destroy all French merchantmen that should be found upon the seas. The vigilance of these officers was such, that in a short time they brought into the English ports, one hundred and twenty sail of ships, belonging to Normandy*.

At this time the queen began to entertain a criminal passion for Roger lord Mortimer, which so offended her brother king Charles, who was likewise tired of the war with England, on account of the losses which the trade of his kingdom sustained,

* Polidore Vergil, An. Dom. 1326.

that he caused Isabella to quit his court. The queen soon after landed in Suffolk with three thousand men, collected in the earldom of Hainault, determined to attack the king her husband. So general was the resort of the nobility to her standard, that the king found himself abandoned, and forced to retire into Wales, where he was soon after seized, and made prisoner. In this situation he was compelled to abdicate his crown, which, by the authority of parliament, was placed on the head of his son. The unhappy Edward did not long survive the loss of his dignity. Being removed from place to place, he was, at length, brought to Berkley-Castle, where he was basely murdered on the 21st of September, 1327, after having reigned twenty years: in which period the vigour of trade was considerably impaired; one great cause of which was a famine, which continued for several years. The only country in the northern parts of Europe, where trade and manufactures seem to have risen to any considerable height, was Flanders; for when Robert, earl of that country, was applied to by Edward, to break off commerce with the Scotch, whom Edward called his rebels, and represented as excommunicated, on that account, by the church; the earl replied, that Flanders was always considered as common and free, and open to all nations*.

The great demand for English wool in Brabant, Artois, and Flanders, induced king Edward II. to ordain a staple for it to be fixed at one certain place, or port, in the Netherlands, for the better ascertaining of the duties thereon. The mayor and commonalty of the merchants of the Staple, were authorized to appoint the place; and the city of Antwerp enjoyed that privilege. At the same time

* Hume's History of England, Vol. ii. p. 367.

an exclusive right of exporting wool, either by English or foreign merchants, was granted to the eight following ports of England, viz. Weymouth, Southampton, Boston, Yarmouth, Hull, Lynn, Ipswich, and Newcastle *.

In the year 1323, five Venetian gallies, laden with merchandize, having entered the port of Southampton, the crews, in a fray with the townsmen, happened to kill an Englishman. What revenge was taken for this murder is not said; but it should seem, that the Venetian merchants, in consequence of this misunderstanding, discontinued their usual visits to the English ports. Edward II. in order to recover to his subjects their former trade with the Venetians, published a free pardon for the merchants, officers, and sailors of those five gallies, and full liberty for them, and all other Venetian ships, to resort to the English ports, and to trade there †. From hence the nature of the commerce, between England and the States established in the Mediterranean, may be inferred. Two years after this, the king granted his protection, and safe conduct, to all Venetian merchants resorting to England, during ten years; with liberty to sell their merchandize in England, and to return home in safety, *without having either their persons or goods stopped, on account of other people's crimes, or debts*; on condition that they paid the usual duties, and exercised none but legal merchandize. This excepting, or saving clause, (the second of its kind hitherto to be found in the Fædera) was probably the condition on which the state of Venice accepted of the liberty of commerce here granted: for what state, or nation, would tamely submit to such abject conditions, as to permit their innocent merchants (as the former practice was) to be liable both to the debts and crimes of others of

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 152.
Vol. iii. p. 1009.

† Rymer's Fædera,

their countrymen? As there is no clause in this grant in behalf of English merchants trading to Venice, it is probable, that then the English had not extended their commerce to so great a distance.

Edward the Second granted a safe conduct to all merchants of Portugal resorting to England, on paying the usual customs. This treaty of commerce, between England and Portugal, is preserved in Mr. Rymer's *Fædera* *, and is the first extant.

During the minority of EDWARD the Third, his abandoned mother, the queen Isabella, prompted him to many steps that were highly improper, and to some that were cruel and unjust. His doing homage to Philip VI. then styling himself king of France, for the provinces which he held of that kingdom, to the prejudice of his own title to the crown, is to be ranked among the first; and bringing his uncle Edmund to the scaffold, for a vague and imaginary charge of treason, belongs to the second. But four years after he had been invested with the title of king †, when he was about nineteen years of age, he assumed to himself the reins of government. His first act of power was to seize on Mortimer, the queen-dowager's paramour, which he effected at the hazard of his life. This favourite was dragged from the queen's apartment at Nottingham, in the most ignominious manner, and conveyed to London. The parliament soon after condemned him to death, without permitting him to urge any plea in his own behalf: such was the prevailing violence of the times! At the same time the queen was committed prisoner to the castle of Rising, in Norfolk; in which condition she remained twenty-five years, abandoned to universal contempt.

* Vol. III. p. 107.

† An. Dom. 1332.

Hence-

Henceforward king Edward ruled like a great prince, and one who had his own honour, and the reputation of the kingdom, at heart. He first turned his arms against the Scotch, who had done incredible mischief in the north; and resolving to repair the dishonour he had sustained during the weak administration of his mother, he prepared both an army and a fleet, for the invasion of that country. Violent storms on the coast wrecked most of his largest ships, and rendered the rest unserviceable; yet he prosecuted his designs so effectually by land, as to depose David Bruce, the descendant of him whom Edward the First had raised to the throne of Scotland, and placed Edward Baliol in his room, who did him homage as his acknowledged sovereign. Having effected these purposes, he directed his attention to objects of greater importance. The crown of France he considered as devolving to him in right of his mother, and he prepared to support his pretensions by force of arms.

France, at that time, was by no means so extensive as at present. It comprehended neither Dauphiné, Provence, nor Franche-Comté. It was rendered still more feeble from the nature of its government: several powerful neighbours, who professed themselves to be vassals of that crown, rather served to weaken than strengthen the monarchy. Philip the Fourth, the father of Isabella, queen of England, left three sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles. The first succeeded his father, and was the tenth of that name. After his death, he leaving only a daughter, a question arose about the validity of the Salic or Salian law, which anciently prevailed among the Franks, and imported, that no female should succeed to an inheritance. It now became a question whether that law extended to the possession of the crown. As this is a subject of
confi-

considerable importance, it is necessary to expatiate somewhat upon it. Hitherto it had never been a matter of enquiry in France, whether a female could succeed to the government of the kingdom. Laws are only made to regulate what may happen by what has happened already ; and, as an instance of this kind had never before occurred, there was no precedent to decide the present question. The conduct of the courts of justice, in determining cases of descent, were the only precedents to be produced. The parliament of France had often adjudged the succession, in the provinces, to women. Artois had formerly been given to a female, in preference to the male heir : whilst the succession of Champagne had been, on some occasions, given to the daughters ; and on others they were held disqualified to succeed. Philip, the brother of the deceased Louis, assumed the crown in prejudice of his niece, and founded his right thereto on the Salic law : the younger brother Charles, commonly called the Fair, jealous of his elder brother's advancement, opposed his pretensions, and asserted the daughter's right to succeed her father. The cause was carried before the French parliament, and decided in favour of Philip, who was the fifth of that name. This monarch enjoyed the crown for five years, and dying, left issue only daughters. His brother Charles, who survived him, then saw it necessary to change his mode of reasoning, and maintain the validity of the law which excluded females ; having, indeed, the solemn decision of the state, to countenance his change of opinion. He mounted the throne without opposition, and enjoyed it for a few years : at the time of his death his wife being pregnant, the right of succession, was in abeyance, until she should be delivered. Edward, king of England, claimed the regency of France,

France, as being, by his mother Isabella, rightful heir to the crown. Philip de Valois, on the other hand, cousin to the last king, Charles IV. forcibly possessed himself of it, as being the next heir in the male line. The claims of Philip were preferred; he was constituted regent of France, and the queen-dowager being brought to bed of a daughter, he was thereupon unanimously elected king. This happened the same year that Edward was crowned king of England. The plea which Edward urged was certainly a very forcible one; he insisted, that males descended from the female line, were not, like their mothers, excluded by the Salic law; because, the reason whereon such law was founded, did not apply to them.

The king of England, determining to maintain his pretensions by arms, formed alliances with the emperor Louis, of Bavaria; the earl of Hainault, his father-in-law, ~~the~~ duke of Brabant, and other princes. But his most valuable ally was one James Arteville, a brewer, of Ghent; who, by his great popularity, attached the Flemings strongly to the king's cause. Most of the great cities in Flanders declared against the French, and invited king Edward thither.

In the year 1338, Edward drew his numerous army down to the coast of Suffolk, and embarked them on board a fleet of five hundred sail, which conveyed them to Antwerp. Whilst he was prosecuting the war by land, the French, and their allies the Scotch, greatly annoyed the English coast: they destroyed the town of Hastings, alarmed all the western coast, burnt Plymouth, and insulted Bristol; whilst the naval force of England was employed on more distant service. To retrieve, in some measure, the honour of the nation, the Cinque-Ports manned all their small craft, and availing themselves of a thick fog, ran over to Boulogne.
Here

Here they set fire to the lower town; destroyed four large ships, nineteen galleys, and twenty smaller vessels, which lay in their harbour; together with the dock and arsenal, which were filled with naval stores*.

Early in the year 1340, the king returned to England, and held a parliament, which liberally provided him with subsidies for carrying on the war; in return for which, he caused many salutary laws to be passed, and granted great privileges to merchants. After this, with a strong fleet, he passed over into Flanders, and in his way thither gave the French a terrible defeat at sea. His naval force consisted of three hundred sail, (chiefly high-decked vessels instead of galleys) with which he went in search of the French fleet, although it consisted of four hundred sail, two hundred of which were large vessels, and well manned. He attacked it near Sluys, with so much courage and conduct, that he gained a complete victory. The English archers did great execution, whilst fighting at a distance; and, after some time, the ships grappled each other, when a furious conflict ensued, which was maintained during the whole day. At length, the superior firmness of the English decided the event of the battle: the French could no longer defend their ships; and when they began to give way, a terrible slaughter ensued: thirty thousand were either killed or drowned, and both the admirals; of the whole fleet only thirty ships escaped. This signal naval victory may be considered as the greatest that had ever been gained in the narrow seas, and the first that had been won by an English king in person; and Mr. Anderson calls it so complete a victory, and so terrible a slaughter of the vanquished, as no naval fight,

* Hollingshead's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 357.

between

between England and France, either before or since, can parallel *.

Edward had, from the beginning of his reign, made several good laws for the regulation of trade, and for preserving to the nation the benefit of its wool: whilst he resided in Flanders, he beheld, with attention, the vast advantages accruing to the Netherlands, from their extensive woollen manufactures; the raw materials of which they obtained chiefly from England. When he returned to England; therefore, he promoted, with spirit, the establishment of manufactures, and the commercial views of his people. But the clouds that darkened the political horizon, at that time, prevented him from discerning the errors of his predecessors. Strongly impelled to acquire possessions on the continent; in gratifying his ambition he lost sight of his interest; and involved the nation he governed in real misfortunes, whilst he excited it to pursue a phantom of dominion. It was not till the latter part of his reign, that the illusion of foreign conquest was exposed, by the loss of every possession which he had acquired on the continent, Calais only excepted: he then accomplished the establishment of the woollen manufacture throughout England, which has, from that time, been gradually advancing to its present state of perfection.

In the year 1345, Edward again passed over into Flanders, where Philip had been labouring to ruin his interest. The king of England determined to compel the earl of that territory to swear fealty to him as his sovereign, or to dispossess him of his dominion. Having reached, with a small squadron, the harbour of Sluys, he summoned a council on board his great ship the Catharine; at which Arte-

* Deduction of Commerce, Vol. i. p. 171.

ville, the brewer, and such Flemings as were in the English interest, assisted. This partisan of Edward had been considered as taking part with him from patriotic views, by which he drew after him the popular cry, and became the idol of the people; but when it was found that he aimed at transferring the government to the family of Edward, (it being designed to erect Flanders into a dukedom, and to give it to the prince of Wales) a general discontent took place, and the Flemings began to execrate the man they had so lately venerated: they were desirous of humbling their lord, and of fixing bounds to his power, but abhorred the thought of depriving him, and his posterity, of their hereditary honours. Arteville saw the storm that was gathering over his head; and to secure himself from the enraged populace, he obtained a guard of five hundred Welshmen. This step served greatly to aggravate the popular fury: a Flemish weaver, named Gerard Dennis, was the leader of these commotions, who heading the party that opposed the English, beset the house of Arteville, and having mastered his guard, dragged from his retreat, the victim to their resentment.—Deliberate and even-handed justice, is not to be expected from popular tumults. A cobbler, possessed with the idea of delivering his country from slavery, with one blow of an ax, cleaved the head of the devoted Arteville.

The king was still at Sluys, with his fleet, when this tumult happened; and though it gave him the most sensible concern, yet policy obliged him to dissemble his resentment, and to admit of the excuses urged by the cities of Flanders, in extenuation of this violence. He justly imputed the opposition which had been raised to his interests, to the secret practices of the French court; which determined him to resume his design of conquering
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that kingdom, and therein to depend more on his own strength than on auxiliary aids.

In the summer of the year 1346, the king collected his navy, consisting of one thousand ships, at Portsmouth; and shortly after arrived at Southampton, with his army, composed of two thousand five hundred horse, and thirty thousand foot. These he quickly embarked, the fleet sailing thither for that purpose; and on the 4th of June he put to sea, intending to have landed in Guienne; but being driven back by a storm on the coast of Cornwall, he changed his design, and made for the coast of Normandy. Arriving off La Hogue, he there landed his army, and began, very successfully, to employ it in reducing the strongest cities in that neighbourhood; after which he spread fire and sword on every side, even to the very gates of Paris. Whilst Philip was a spectator of the desolation of his kingdom, he received advice that the earl of Huntingdon, with the English fleet, was destroying all the coast, almost without opposition. In this extremity he determined, contrary to his usual policy, to hazard a battle: accordingly, on the 25th of August, that great and decisive action was fought, which will immortalize the little town of Cressy. In this memorable battle, Philip was at the head of one hundred thousand men, and Edward had only thirty thousand. The Black prince, his son, so called from the colour of the armour which he wore, a youth of sixteen, commanded the first line of the English army; the second was led on by the earls of Northampton and Arundel; and the body of reserve was headed by the king in person, who, as well as the prince of Wales, had that morning received the sacrament with great devotion; and their behaviour betokened the calm intrepidity of men, resolved on conquest or death. The army being thus arranged, the king rode from rank to

rank, with a chearful countenance; bad his soldiers remember the honour of their country; and, with his eloquence, animated the whole army to a degree of enthusiastic fervour. To oppose the English, Philip had also drawn up his formidable army in three divisions: at the head of the first was John of Luxemburg, the blind king of Bohemia; the second was led by the count of Alencon; and Philip, in person, commanded the body of reserve. This was the first battle that the prince of Wales had been present in; but, with the hardiness of a veteran, he appeared foremost in the conflict, and continued, for some time, to turn the fortune of the day. But his courage would have been soon repressed by numbers, had not the earl of Northampton hastened to his relief. The very thickest of the battle was, by this time, gathered round the prince, and the valour of a boy filled the most experienced with astonishment: but their surprize at his courage was succeeded by fears for his person; apprehensive that his impetuosity might, in the end, prove fatal to him, they apprized the king of the expediency of hastening immediately to the relief of the young hero. Edward, who had all this time beheld the engagement from a windmill, with great deliberation asked, if his son was dead? And being told, that he still lived, and was giving astonishing instances of his valour: "Then tell my generals," cried the king, "that he shall have no assistance from me; the honour of this day shall be his, and he shall be indebted to his own merit alone for victory." This engagement was held in the fields between Abbeville and Cressy, in Picardy, and lasted from three in the afternoon until the evening. Thirty thousand French soldiers were slain on the field of battle; together with twelve hundred knights, fourteen hundred gentlemen, and four thousand men at arms. The dukes of Lorraine and Bourbon;

Bourbon; the earls of Flanders, Blois, Vaudemont, and Aumale; together with the kings of Majorca and Bohemia, were left on the field of battle. The last, although deprived of sight, and sinking under age and infirmities, expressed a wish to close his life in the defence of France. Having ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied to the horses of two knights in his retinue, he proceeded to the place of action. His dead body, and those of his attendants, were found among the slain. The crest of this king, representing three ostrich feathers, encircled with a German motto, (*Ich dien*, "I serve.") was brought to the prince of Wales; who, to perpetuate the memory of the victory, made it a part of his armorial bearings.

This victory is partly ascribed to four pieces of artillery, which the English are said to have first made use of on this occasion. The invention of gunpowder is supposed to have been made in the year 1330, which soon afterwards gave an entire change to the operations of war, and strengthened the hands of Europeans against all the rest of their species. Whether these destructive engines, which, from henceforth, were employed to thin the human race, introduced a more sanguinary mode of making war, is a question on which mankind are not quite agreed: but whatever influence it might have on wars carried on by land, the discovery certainly gave an energy to naval operations, which they were before destitute of. It seems that chance directed a monk of Cologne, to this important secret. Roger Bacon, an English ecclesiastic, who lived towards the close of the thirteenth century, appears to have understood, at least, the theory of gunpowder; for, writing to a friend, he observes, that out of salt-petre, sulphur, and charcoal-dust, he could make fire to burn, at what distance he pleased; and could thereby cause thunder and
light.

lightning; which would destroy cities and armies with a great noise. Whether the Venetians had made use of this composition in their wars, before the period we are speaking of, is contended for by some, and denied by others: the Chinese also lay claim to the invention of this destructive composition. The use of muskets was an improvement made many years afterwards: bombs and mortars did not come into use till about the year 1634.—But to follow the victorious Edward in his farther conquests.

After this decisive stroke, the king of England marched with his whole army towards Calais. It was of the utmost importance to him to be possessed of that place, which was not only the key to France, but opened to him a communication from the earldom of Ponthieu, which he was then in possession of. Six days after the battle of Cressy he appeared before Calais, and summoned it to surrender; but the general panic, which such a decisive blow to the interests of Philip might be supposed to have spread, had not made its way within the walls of that fortress. The obstinate bravery of the governor, troops, and citizens, together with the natural strength of the place, determined Edward to convert the siege into a blockade. Meanwhile Philip, although vanquished, was not sunk into despondency; he had drawn together an army, which, in number, at least, was formidable, amounting, as is said, to one hundred and fifty thousand men. The French, of all nations upon earth, are the most remarkable for bearing misfortunes without dismay. Edward invested the place regularly by land, fortified his lines strongly, and within them erected, as Froissard, a contemporary writer, tells us, a kind of town, for the convenience of his soldiers; wherein were magazines for provisions and military stores, together with extensive warehouses filled with wool and cloth, for supplying, at two settled markets, the sinews of war:
his

his troops, all the while, being regularly paid. At the same time the harbour of Calais was blocked up by an English fleet, consisting of seven hundred and thirty-eight sail, on board of which were fourteen thousand nine hundred and fifty-six marines*: of this fleet, seven hundred belonged to the subjects of Edward, and only thirty-eight to foreigners. Edward had lain before the town for eleven months, and effectually excluded from it every kind of succour; the governor had been obliged twice to drive out of the city a number of its inhabitants, who contributed little to its defence, and served to consume the provisions lodged there. Edward treated the first party, consisting of about seventeen hundred persons, with great humanity; furnishing them with provisions and necessaries, and granting them a safe conduct through the camp. The second are said to have met with a more cruel fate; five hundred having perished with cold and hunger, between the city, and the army of the besiegers. The French king made some shew of

* This amount of ships and seamen allows only twenty men to each ship, on an average. The pay of each was four-pence per diem, or twelve pence of our present money. Bayonne, in Guienne, contributed fifteen ships, and four hundred and fifty-nine men, which will allot thirty men to each ship. Spain sent seven ships, and one hundred and eighty-four men, which gives twenty-six sailors for each ship. Ireland only one ship, and twenty-five men. Flanders fourteen ships, and one hundred and thirty-three men; not ten men to a ship. Guelderland one ship, and twenty-four men. The whole amount of foreign auxiliaries was eight hundred and five seamen, in their thirty-eight ships. The English navy at this time, and for about two hundred years after, may be termed a naval militia, each sea-port being called upon to furnish a certain quota of ships and men, in proportion to its trade and consequence. A list of the requisitions made from each port town, for the exigencies of the state, is still preserved in the Cotton Library; by which it should seem, that Great Yarmouth, in Norfolk, was the most consequential town, for shipping, in all England, as it sent forty-three ships, and one thousand nine hundred and five mariners, near forty five men to a ship; whereas London sent only twenty-five ships, and six hundred and sixty-two mariners, scarce twenty-seven men to each ship. But no certain inference can be drawn from hence of the traffic carried on at the two ports, as London might have been assisted very moderately, on account of the city contributing amply, in some other way, to the public service.

relieving

relieving the place, by approaching within sight of it, at the head of his numerous army; but Philippa, Edward's queen, arriving from England with a reinforcement of seventeen thousand men, determined him to lay aside all thoughts of making the desperate attempt.

The governor of Calais, with his garrison and the citizens, seeing all hope of relief cut off, at length submitted to the conqueror; who, irritated by the length of time which he had employed in reducing them, had, in his intentions, devoted the place to the fury of his troops; quite unmindful of the intimations of humanity, as well as of the laws of honour. But the well-timed interposition of his queen rescued these unhappy wretches from destruction. Thus ended this glorious siege, wherein the English monarch triumphed over his enemies by sea and land; carrying his own, and the nation's fame, to the utmost height. The English remained possessed of this town two hundred and ten years; which might be greatly owing to the method taken by the king to secure the fidelity of the inhabitants; for he dispossessed all the former occupiers, and placed in their stead a colony of English. At the same time he made the place a staple for wool, leather, tin, and lead*.

The compassion of queen Philippa shewn to the citizens of Calais has been much celebrated: but it ought to be recorded, that she was no less eminent for her bravery than her clemency. Whilst the English arms were triumphing on the continent, the Scotch, taking advantage of the then posture of affairs, invaded England with a numerous army. In this emergency queen Philippa, at that time in England, headed the troops drawn together from all parts, and with wonderful expedition marched

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. ii. p. 443.

against

against the Scotch, and offered them battle. Bauliol, confident of victory, accepted the challenge: but he had the mortification to be defeated; twenty thousand of his people were slain, and himself made prisoner, by a woman. Immediately after this glorious enterprize, the queen joined the king, her husband, before Calais, as has been already related.

By this time the war on the continent had thinned the inhabitants of the invaded country, and drained that of the invaders: but a destruction still more fatal than that of war, contributed to desolate the wretched inhabitants of Europe. A pestilence, more terrible than any mentioned in former history, which had already almost dispeopled Asia and Africa, came to settle upon the western world with increased malignity. The fourth part of the people were cut off by it: in London it raged with such violence, that in the space of a year, there were buried in Charter-house Church-yard, above fifty thousand persons. It was in the midst of this scourge of nature, that the ambition of Edward and Philip was contending for new conquests, and increasing the calamities of mankind. These ravages, however, were silently repaired by commerce and industry: those arts, which were then despised by princes, were laying the seeds of future opulence, and increased population. They were now travelling gradually from Italy, and had begun to find a harbour in England. The refinements and the pleasures of sense every day began to improve: but intellectual refinement was yet unknown. Sensual enjoyments must ever be carried to some height, before mankind can find leisure or taste for entertainments of a more delicate nature*.

* Goldsmith.

The surrender of Calais paved the way for a truce, which, by the mediation of the pope, was agreed upon for a year: but when Edward had returned to England, an attempt was made to corrupt the fidelity of the governor of Calais, and prevail on him to deliver up the place to the French king. This plot was discovered to Edward, who, passing from Dover to Calais, with three hundred men at arms, and six hundred archers, was admitted by night, and unobserved, into the town. Soon after, the French troops, under the command of the count de Charny, amounting to twelve hundred men, approached to surprize the place. Being admitted into the gate agreed upon, they were suddenly attacked by the garrison. De Charny surprized, but not dismayed, returned the charge. A doubtful conflict ensued; king Edward, and his brave son the prince of Wales, fought in person; the former of whom was very near losing his life in the contest. At length the French were totally defeated, and the whole detachment either killed or taken prisoners*.

In November 1349, a squadron of Spanish, or Castilian ships, sailed up the Garonne; and, in violation of the peace at that time subsisting between England and Spain, seized on several English ships in the harbour of Bourdeaux, freighted with wine; after having inhumanly murdered the seamen, they made prizes of the ships. Edward was not a monarch disposed to pass by such a flagrant outrage; he, therefore, immediately prepared for an ample revenge. Having intelligence that a squadron of Spanish ships, richly laden, were on the point of returning to Flanders, he drew together a fleet of fifty sail, at Sandwich, on board of which he embarked in person, with the prince of Wales, the

* Mezeray, Vol. iii. p. 31.

earls of Lancaster, Northampton, Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Arundel, and Gloucester, with many other persons of distinction. They came within sight of the Spanish fleet on the coast of Suffex, near Winchelsea: it consisted of forty-four large carracks, which the writers of those times describe as huge floating castles, greatly superior to the English ships. The attack was begun by the English with great fury, whilst the Spaniards defended themselves as resolutely; and, although overpowered, refused quarter when offered them, preferring death to bondage. Twenty-four of these ships, richly laden, were brought into the English harbours; the rest, with difficulty, escaped. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, the king caused a gold medal to be struck, on which he was represented standing in the midst of a ship, with his sword drawn, with this inscription: *The Avenger of Merchants*. Before this decisive battle, the Spaniards, or Castilians, seemed to threaten the total destruction of the English navy. To such a pitch of arrogance had this power arisen, that we find, by a proclamation issued by Edward III. which is preserved in Rymer's *Fædera* *, that they "aspired to reign masters of the English seas, and even threatened to invade and subdue the kingdom." But the language of Spain was hereupon quite changed, being reduced to sue for a truce, instead of menacing conquest. By this truce, which was to continue for twenty years, the fishermen of Castile and Biscay, were permitted to fish in the havens of England and Bretagne, paying the customary duties.

In 1350, Philip VI. dying, his son John succeeded him in the throne. A little before the death of Philip, the province of Dauphiné, which, till

* Vol. v. p. 679, 717, 720.

then, had been independant of the crown, was bequeathed by Humbartus II. its last prince, to the French king, on condition that the eldest sons of the kings of France should be styled Dauphins. John, soon after his coming to the crown, bestowed the duchy of Aquitaine upon his son, the dauphin, which so incensed Edward, that he gave the same province to his son the prince of Wales, and sent him, with a chosen army of veteran troops, to secure the possession of it. The courtesy, as well as bravery of this young prince, rendered him the idol of the soldiery, and made him almost invincible, at their head. John, on the other hand, possessed no such military reputation; he was at the head of a divided and factious nobility. The parliament of barons in France had obliged their king to sign a charter, very much resembling the Magna Charta, which some years before had been signed by the English monarch of the same name. The warlike resources of France and England were, therefore, at this time, very unequal. John was at the head of a nobility, which acknowledged no subordination among each other: they led their dependant slaves to the fight, and obeyed superior command, only as it suited their inclination: their king might, more properly, be said to command a number of small armies, under distinct leaders, than one vast machine operating with uniformity and united force. The French barons paid their own soldiers, punished their transgressions, and rewarded their fidelity. But very different were the forces of England: the main body of the English army was composed of the people, indiscriminately levied, paid by the king, and regarding him as the source of preferment, or disgrace. Instead of personal attendance, the nobility contributed supplies in money; and there was only such a number of nobles in the service, as tended to keep alive the spirit
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of honour, without diminishing military subordination *. With these forces the prince of Wales won the famous battle of Poitiers †, in which he took the French king, and his youngest son Philip, prisoners; together with the flower of the French nobility, with whom, towards the close of the year, he landed in triumph at Plymouth; from thence he proceeded to London, where he was received with the most extravagant acclamations. The lord mayor of London ‡ afterwards entertained at dinner the kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus; the last of whom was on a visit to the king of England §.

In 1359 we find Edward prosecuting the war against France with greater vigour than before: eleven hundred sail of ships transported an army of near one hundred thousand men, from Sandwich to Calais; whilst the dauphin, with a great army, contented himself with acting on the defensive. By this plan of conduct Edward found himself, at length, perplexed and embarrassed, without having fought a single battle. The next year restored peace to the two exhausted kingdoms; by which treaty king Edward renounced for himself, and his successors, his title to the crown of France, the duchy of Normandy, and many other countries: the French, on the other side, giving up to him all Aquitaine, with many countries depending thereupon; as also the town and lordship of Calais, with a considerable territory adjoining thereto. By this treaty king John regained his liberty. The peace was maintained inviolate whilst he lived; but soon after his successor Charles V. who was styled the Wise, obtaining the crown, the animosity between the two nations broke out afresh. Charles summoned the prince of Wales, to whom the ceded

* Goldsmith.

† 19th September, 1356.

‡ Henry Picard.

§ Rob. de Avesbury, 210, &c.

provinces had been given, to appear in person before his court of peers at Paris, to answer to complaints lodged against him by some of his inferior lords. As this was a direct breach of the treaty of peace, king Edward chose no longer to bind himself by the stipulations therein made: he, therefore, resumed the title of king of France. The first act of hostility committed was by the French, who laid siege to Rochelle: a squadron of forty sail, having land forces on board, was sent, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, for the relief of the place. Henry, king of Castile, jealous of the success of the English, sent out a fleet to intercept this succour: they met and fought. All the English ships either fell a prey to the Spaniards, or were sunk by them, and the earl himself was taken prisoner. According to father Daniel, this was a combined fleet of France and Spain; and that historian says, that the French had some cannon on board their fleet, and made use of balistas, and other machines, for throwing of stones and large bars of iron, with a view to sink the English ships.

Rochelle, and the greatest part of Poitou, soon surrendered upon this defeat. Tours was invested, and after some time taken. To counterbalance these losses, the English defeated, soon after, a fleet of Flemings, who were then in alliance with France, and took twenty-six of their ships: four thousand men were slain in this engagement, and as many carried prisoners into England; together with Peterfon, the Flemish admiral.

The prince of Wales had now become a prey to an inveterate disease, which at last terminated his life, in the forty-sixth year of his age. On the other hand, France was governed by a prince of great abilities, who knew how to unite the jarring interests in the state, and to direct the united force
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of the kingdom against his competitors. Edward did not long survive the prince his son; he died the year following, viz. 1377, in the fifty-first year of his reign, and sixty-sixth of his age.

Numerous are the instances which occur in this reign of the care taken to maintain to England the sovereignty of the surrounding seas; particularly in the peace made with king John of France, wherein Edward renounces all title to Normandy, but expressly reserves to himself all the islands dependent thereupon, that he might preserve his jurisdiction of the sea entire*. In his commissions also to admirals, and inferior officers, he frequently styles himself sovereign of the English seas, asserting, that he derived this title from his progenitors†. His parliaments likewise, in the preambles to their bills, assert, that it was a thing notorious to foreign nations, that the king of England, in right of his crown, was sovereign of the seas‡.

Before we proceed to enter upon the reign of his grandson Richard the Second, it will be necessary to inform our readers of some circumstances which occurred during this long reign, which could not be introduced in the order of time in which they happened, without breaking the thread of the narrative.

Mr. Madox, in his *Firma Burgi*, observes, that in the first year of king Edward III. fundry incorporated trades were then existing in the city of London; as the taylor, armourers, skinner, goldsmiths, &c. Other trades were, at various succeeding times, incorporated, viz. The grocers (anciently called pepperers) in 1345; the mercers, in 1393; the salters, in 1394; the fishmongers, in 1433; vintners, (anciently called merchant wine-tunners

* Walsingham.

† Rot. Scotie, 10 Edw. III.

‡ Rob. Parl. 46

of Gascony) in 1437; drapers, in 1439; haberdashers, in 1451; ironmongers, in 1464; merchant-taylors, (anciently called taylors and linen-armourers) in 1466; clothworkers, (anciently called sheermen) in 1482. The haberdashers were anciently called Hurrers and Milainers; the latter name coming from the wares they sold, which came from Milan and Lombardy.

In 1331 a protection was granted by king Edward III. to John Kemp, of Flanders, a woollen cloth-weaver, coming over to exercise his trade in England; and, as is expressly mentioned, to teach it to such of the English as were inclined to learn it. The king engaging to take Kemp, with all his servants and apprentices, goods and chattels, into his royal protection; and promising the like security to all others of his occupation; and to all dyers and fullers, who shall be inclined to settle in England*. This encouragement, we are told by De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, brought over seventy families of Walloons, to England.

According to Sir Robert Cotton, the customs of the port of London, this same year, amounted to one thousand marks a month, or eight thousand pounds for the whole year; which is equal to twenty-four thousand pounds of our modern money. If we take into consideration the low rate at which the customs were then levied, the foreign trade carried on from this port will appear very considerable for such remote times. An act of parliament passed in 1335, empowering foreigners, styled in the act Merchant-strangers, to sell the merchandize which they might bring from foreign parts, in towns-corporate, as well as in other places; and to buy, without restraint, whatever they might have occasion for, in as ample a manner as if they were denizens.

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. iv. p. 496.

William de la Pole, an English merchant, residing at Antwerp, in the year 1338, lent Edward the Third eleven thousand pounds, or thirty-three thousand pounds of our present money. It is the more extraordinary for a native Englishman to lend so large a sum of money at this period, as the chief of the foreign commerce of England was carried on by the Italians, Germans, and Flemings *. An acknowledgment of the same king is likewise extant, to this William de la Pole, bearing the same date, for seven thousand five hundred pounds more, twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds of our money, which, at the king's request, he was bound for to the earl of Gueldre, the king's brother-in-law; the whole amounting to fifty-five thousand pounds sterling. For these services he was made chief baron of the Exchequer of England, and a knight-banneret; and had also the lordship of Holderness bestowed upon him, with other crown-lands †. The prosecution of continental wars not only exhausted the state, but drove the king to such necessities, that he thrice pawned his crown; first in the seventeenth year of his reign, beyond the seas; again in the twenty-fourth, to Sir John Walsingham, another merchant; and again in the thirtieth year of his reign, to the same person; in whose hands it then lay eight years, through the king's inability to redeem it ‡.

In the year 1334 the first gold coin was struck in England §.

* Rymer's Fæd. Vol. v. p. 85. † Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 170. ‡ Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. i. p. 214. § This is asserted on the authority of Mr. Folkes, but more modern antiquaries have discovered, that a small piece of gold, which passed for twenty-pence, was coined by Henry III. in the year 1257, of the weight of two sterlings. A few months after its publication the city of London petitioned against it, but it does not appear that its currency was stopped thereby. It was afterwards raised in its value to twenty-four pence, or two shillings. Two of these pieces are still preserved. One in the cabinet of Mr. Hodfol, a banker in London; the other in that of — Solley, Esq.

We learn, from Rymer's *Fædera*, that Ireland, in the year 1344, supplied the king with a number of armed vessels, for transporting their great lords, with their attendants and troops, to Scotland; and also to Portsmouth, for the French wars: which shews, that Ireland must then have had some commerce, though we know very little of what it consisted in.

In 1345 the Island of Madeira is said to have been first discovered by Macham, an English mariner, who fled from England on account of an illicit amour. He was driven on it by a storm, and his mistress dying there, he made a canoe, and carried the news of this discovery to Pedro, king of Arragon, which led to the supposition that the island was discovered by a Portuguese. It was, however, settled from that nation in 1431.

The year 1348 furnishes us with the most ancient account to be met with of a toll demanded by the Danes, for all ships passing the Sound into, or out of the Baltic through that famous strait. The Hanse-Towns, who then engrossed all the trade to that part of the world, were very averse to the payment of this tax, and frequently disputed it with Denmark, but could never so far prevail as to cause it to be abolished.

In the year 1350 Edward concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with the republic of Genoa, wherein the Genoese merchants were permitted freely to bring their ships and merchandize to the English ports. But no stipulation appears for the like immunities for English ships resorting to Genoa*; from whence Mr. Anderson infers, that England sent out no ships to the port of Genoa at that time. Two years afterwards the republic of Pisa sent an envoy to Edward, for the purpose of entering into a commercial treaty with England; and they ob-

* Rymer's *Fædera*, Vol. v. p. 703.

tained the same freedom of trade as was before given to the Genoese: but in this grant likewise, there is no reciprocal stipulation in behalf of English ships trading to the ports within the Mediterranean.

By a record preserved in the Exchequer it appears, that the balance of the foreign trade carried on at the different ports during the year 1354, was more than seven to one in favour of England.

The value of the exports to all	}	£.	s.	d.
foreign parts, amounted, with		294,184	17	2
the duties paid thereon, to -				

The value of the importers, with	}	£.	s.	d.
the duties paid, was - -		38,970	3	6

£. 255,214 13 8

If we multiply this balance by	}			
<i>three</i> , which is the difference				
between the value of money at				
that time and now, we shall find		765,644	1	0
England gained that year, by				

her foreign commerce, -

The articles exported were,

31,651 $\frac{1}{2}$ Sacks of wool, at 6*l.* per sack.

30,036 Cwt. and 65 fells, at 40*s.* per cwt.

Leather.

4774 $\frac{1}{2}$ Coarse cloths, at 40*s.* per cloth.

8061 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pieces of worsted, at 16*s.* 8*d.* per piece.

The articles imported were,

1831 Fine cloths, at 6*l.* per cloth.

397 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cwt. wax, at 40*s.* per cwt.

1289 $\frac{1}{2}$ Tons of wine, at 40*s.* per ton.

Linen cloth, mercery, grocery, &c.

Thus, as Sir William Temple well remarks, when England carried on but a small foreign commerce, she was rich, in comparison with her neighbours, by selling so much more than she bought, even though she maintained such mighty wars in France, and carried her victorious arms into the heart of Spain.

The whole customs, both outward and inward, amounted to,

	£.	s.	d.
On the imported goods,	580	6	8
On the exported goods,	81,846	12	2
	£. 82,426	18	10

Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, luxury having spread pretty generally among the people, the balance of foreign trade was against us; the importation of foreign merchandise exceeding the value of the products and manufactures annually exported. To remedy this evil, which tended so directly to the impoverishing of the kingdom, the legislature laid some impolitic restrictions on Merchant-strangers, obliging them, among other things, to give security for their laying out in English merchandise, or products to be exported, whatever they should receive in specie, for the sale of their commodities imported*.

The renowned Edward the black prince left an infant son, only eleven years of age on the death of his grandfather; he was crowned by the name of RICHARD II. The parliament entrusted the management of public affairs to the king's three uncles, during his minority: these were, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, then styled king of Castile and Leon; and the dukes of York and

* 1st Henry IV ch. 15.

Gloucester. The new reign was ushered in with a spirited attack made by the French on the southern coast of the kingdom, with fifty sail of ships, commanded by admiral de Vienne, nephew to that brave governor who defended Calais against Edward the Third. They reduced the town of Rye, in Suffex, to ashes; and, proceeding westward, landed on the Isle of Wight, which they plundered without mercy; Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, also felt the fury of these invaders. Whilst the regency took no effectual measures to recover the national repose and honour, the nobility and ecclesiastics in those parts, got together what force they could muster, and, unsupported by government, made head against the French, whom they, at length, obliged to retreat to their ships, and return home.

At this time the spirit of the nation, although damped by the inactivity of the executive power of government, was not to be suppressed. A noble instance of patriotism blazed out at this season of national languor. John Philpot, an alderman of London, who had grown immensely rich by commerce, at his own private expence fitted out a naval force, on board of which he embarked a thousand men at arms; proceeding with this squadron to the northward, he went in quest of a Scotch commander, who, with some vessels, was riding triumphant on those seas, having taken several ships; and, at length, was joined by a fleet, consisting of French and Spanish ships: however, this brave merchant resolutely attacked, and totally defeated their combined force. The Scotch ships, and their commander, named Mercer, were taken, with all their plunder; fifteen Spanish vessels, richly laden, likewise became the prey of the conqueror. — True patriotism has frequently been obliged to find its recompense in conscious rectitude of heart. Intriguing factions, insidious ministers, or capricious

cious kings, frequently cause public services to go unrewarded; sometimes even unacknowledged: so it fared with this valiant citizen of London: he was called before the council of state as a delinquent, for daring to man a squadron without legal authority: probably the prizes he had made, drew on him the envy of a greedy ministry. But Philpot conducted himself so well before the council, that he extorted from the lords who composed it, their thanks for his conduct*.

In the year 1378, the duke of Lancaster, with a large army and fleet, failed to assist the duke of Bretagne: he landed at St. Malos, to which place he laid siege; but, unable to reduce it, he struck his tents, and returned to England, having added nothing to his military reputation by this expedition. The next year Sir John Arundel, who had bravely repulsed the French when they landed in Devonshire, failed for Bretagne, with a considerable re-enforcement, but being overtaken by a violent tempest, his squadron was dispersed, and the greatest part was shipwrecked on the coasts of Ireland, Wales, or Cornwall: himself, and a thousand men at arms, perished. The next year other supplies were sent from England, under the command of the earl of Buckingham, Sir Robert Knollis, and Sir Hugh Calverly: not willing again to risk the dangers of the sea, they were transported to Calais, and marched from thence to Bretagne: but these brave troops were cruelly neglected by the government at home; insomuch that a want of necessaries obliged them to evacuate the country, and seek their native land in small parties, as fugitives and vagabonds: at the same time the French gallies burnt Gravesend, and plundered the Kentish coast.

* Thomas Walsingham.

About this time a duty of six-pence per ton, each quarter of a year, was laid on all ships from Newcastle laden with coals *.

By an act of parliament passed about this time †, the price of wines was regulated at six-pence and four-pence per gallon; and, in the same session, the first legal act of navigation was passed, by which the English merchants were prohibited from shipping their goods in foreign vessels, either outward or homeward, and the greater part of the crew were required to be natural-born subjects of England. This may be considered as the first trace of that political system, which, by paying the closest attention to the training of seamen, and the construction of merchant-ships, has advanced the nation to the very pinnacle of greatness. The parliament farther regulated, that monies were not to be sent beyond sea in any other method than by bills of exchange.

Whoever would read history to advantage, should attentively mark every step by which the inferior orders of mankind, which constitute the body of the people, have advanced from a torpid state of acquiescence in the will of their rulers, to the discovery and exercise of those rights which are inherent in their nature. We have seen, in the last reign, what convulsions were caused in Flanders by popular fury, when excited by the insidious arts of statesmen. An instance, at this time, presents itself in our own country, which may be considered as the first rude effort of nature in the cause of freedom. The shameful abuse of power during the reign of Richard the Second, had caused repeated calls for imposts and levies; whilst the money so raised was profusely squandered, and egregiously misapplied. In the year 1381 a poll-tax

* Rymer's Fæd. Vol. vii. p. 220.

† 5th Richard II. c. 3.

was levied on every subject of the realm, of fifteen years of age and upwards. A general discontent at that time prevailed among the peasantry, which the slightest incident was sufficient to light into a blaze; and an event, in itself no ways nationally important, wrought the effect. A collector of this tax applied to one Walter, by trade a tyler, in the county of Essex, who had a daughter for whom he refused to pay, alledging, that she was under the age specified: the sordid tax-gatherer insisted on her being a full-grown woman; and, in order to ascertain his assertions, was proceeding to acts of indecency: the father, incensed at such violence, aimed a blow at the fellow's head with a hammer, and struck him dead on the ground. Walter, or as he is commonly called, Wat Tyler, was one of those hardy spirits so frequently found among the common English. The insult offered to this girl operated as a charm upon the spirits of the people. The country rose in arms, and chose Wat Tyler for their champion and spokesman. Under this demagogue they advanced towards London, acquiring vast numbers in their progress, insomuch that they mustered one hundred thousand men. Dreadful were the disorders committed by this tumultuous confederacy in their progress! Arrived at London, they entered the town, and murdered all such as they deemed enemies; then separating in different bodies, they spread themselves over the whole city, and its environs. The legislative power could collect no force capable of making head against such a host of insurgents. In this emergency it was thought expedient that the king should hold a conference with Wat Tyler, trusting for his safety to the "Divinity that doth hedge a king*:" his only attendants, on this occasion, being the

* Shakespeare.

lord-mayor, and some of the magistrates of London: with them Richard rode towards Smithfield, to confer with his discontented subjects, and redress their grievances. The king's knight announced to Wat Tyler the approach of his royal master, without alighting from his horse; not considering the person he addressed as at the head of an hundred thousand men. Tyler, already intoxicated with power, was preparing to kill the culprit on the spot; but the king, who was himself advancing, seeing the impending consequence, directed his attendant to dismount. A conference between the king and Tyler then followed, wherein the latter proposed, as terms of peace, that all slaves should be set free, and that all commonages should be open to the poor as well as the rich. Certainly nothing could be more equitable than such requisitions; but these demands were accompanied by gestures highly disrespectful and threatening; which insolence so raised the indignation of William Walworth, lord-mayor of London, who attended the king, that, without considering the danger to which he exposed his master, he stunned Tyler with a blow of his mace; and Sir John Philpot, the gallant alderman before spoken of*, riding up, thrust his sword through his body. His followers seeing their leader slain, encouraged each other to revenge his death; and their bows were already bent for execution, when Richard, though not quite sixteen years of age, rode intrepidly up to the rebels, and with admirable constancy and presence of mind, cried out, with a resolute voice, "What, my friends, will you then kill your king? Be not concerned for the loss of your leader; I myself will now be your general; follow me into the field, and you shall have whatever you desire." The passions

* Page 141.

of a multitude are violent, and ever transient: this speech disarmed them; they followed the king, as if under the power of fascination. The next day they received a charter of freedom, and a general pardon: but these were only extorted grants, which were soon retracted, and the fomenters and ring-leaders of this commotion were diligently sought out, and hanged without mercy. The noble self-possession which this prince discovered, when immediate death presented itself, is perhaps the only instance of heroism which his whole life furnishes.

In the year 1382 the parliament seemed in earnest to attend to the defence of the nation; the commons, for that end, granted a subsidy to Richard the Second, for the purpose of guarding the seas, which has been since styled ship-money. It was raised by a tax of two shillings per ton on wines imported, and six-pence per pound on all other merchandize, either imported or exported; wool and leather excepted. Foreign merchants were likewise invited to resort to, and settle in England, by granting them certain privileges and advantages*.

In the year 1385 Charles VI. the French king, determined to invade England, as the most effectual means of wresting from that crown the few places it still held in France. For this purpose he is said to have drawn together twelve hundred and eighty-seven sail: but the enterprize was never undertaken. A considerable part of this vast fleet was driven, by a tempest, on the English coast, where it became the prey either of the waves or the enemy. Upwards of one hundred sail of French, Spanish, or Flemish merchant-men, were attacked by the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, and taken. Father Daniel, the French historian, owns, that during the remainder of the reign of Charles VI.

* 6th Richard II. c. 3.

and throughout that of his successor Charles VII. his country attempted very little at sea *.

We find, by a record preserved in Rymer's *Fædera* †, that some merchants of the town of Kingston-upon-Hull now traded up the Baltic as far as Prussia; and, about this time, a commercial treaty was entered into between England and the Republic of the master and German knights of the Cross, sovereigns of Prussia. Soon after which, commercial disputes became very frequent between England and the grand master of Prussia, some of whose subjects seized on certain effects of the English: whereupon Richard II. caused reprisals to be made on the Prussian merchants at Lynn; sending, at the same time, an embassy to Prussia, which adjusted the differences, and re-established mutual commerce between both nations ‡. We find by Hakluyt too, that an English ship, from Newcastle, of two hundred tons burden, was, on her voyage up the Baltic towards Prussia, seized on by the ships of Wismar and Rostock: the Hanse-Towns having, at that time, become so powerful, as to claim to themselves an exclusive right of navigating in the Baltic; to maintain which they seized on all the ships of other nations, which they met with on that sea: but an indemnification for these seizures was insisted on in the next reign, when Henry IV. entered into a treaty of pacification with those states.

The duke of Lancaster, who, by virtue of his marriage with Constantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, laid claim to the crown of Spain, and in the year 1386 prepared to possess himself of that kingdom by force. His pretensions were backed by the king of Portugal, who furnished seven galleys, and eighteen ships, to the

* Hist. de la Mil. Franc. Tom. ii. p. 448.

† Vol. vi. p. 718.

‡ Rymer's *Fæd.* Vol. vii. p. 520.

duke, for this enterprize. The English nobility entered warmly into the duke's views, and many accompanied him on the expedition. His army consisted of twenty thousand men, whom he led in person; the fleet was commanded by Sir Thomas Piercy. The first service which this armament performed was the relief of Brest, which the French had laid siege to. The nobility of Spain were divided on this occasion, many adhering to the duke of Lancaster, whilst the majority sided with John, the reigning prince. Sailing from Brest, the duke landed his army near Corunna, in the kingdom of Galicia: but the king of Castile had taken care so to desolate the country around, that the army were driven to great straits for want of provisions, and a wasting sickness reduced their members. The duke, however, proceeded through the country, notwithstanding these obstacles; and, at length, obliged his rival to make overtures of accommodation; and it was soon after stipulated that John, king of Castile, should pay the duke of Lancaster seventy thousand pounds, to indemnify him his expences of the war, together with a yearly subsidy of ten thousand pounds, during the life of the duke and his duchess. This treaty being ratified, intermarriages between the families took place: the eldest daughter of the duke marrying Henry, prince of Asturias, king John's heir. On the other hand, the duke and duchess of Lancaster resigned all pretensions to the crown of Spain, or Castile. The duke then returned to England, according to Mezeray, bringing back only a sixth part of the troops he had carried out*, after having been absent three years.

Richard, in the mean time, was devoted to thoughtlessness and dissipation: a lavish expence rendered him ever needy, and the nation grew tired

* Vol. iii. p. 134.

of granting money to a prince who made so ill an application of it. For some time, however, the king carried it with a high hand; decreeing to death, or banishment, such as dared to oppose his will: but as such power was founded upon private interest, or terror, it was liable to be shaken by every breath. Whilst the generality of the nobles obeyed the king through constraint, he was universally odious to the people.

Thus was this weak monarch pursuing the most destructive plan of conduct, when the duke of Hereford, eldest son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, strove to recommend himself to the king, by appearing in parliament, and accusing the duke of Norfolk of having spoken seditious words against his sovereign, in a private conversation held between them. This charge was strenuously denied by the duke of Norfolk; and the nature of the accusation not admitting of any proof, it was decreed by the lords in parliament, that the guilt or innocence of the party accused should depend on the issue of a single combat between the two dukes, according to the laws of chivalry, which at that time prevailed. In order to decide the truth of the above charge, by force of arms, the lists were appointed to be held before the king at Coventry. All the nobility of the kingdom separated into parties, and adhered either to the accuser or the accused; and the whole nation became warmly interested in the fate of these illustrious peers. At the appointed time the two champions appeared, when the king, under pretence of avoiding the effusion of such noble blood, commanded the combatants to desist, ordering their lances to be taken from them. He then banished the duke of Hereford for ten years, and the duke of Norfolk for life. Nothing could be a stronger proof of that unaccountable indiscretion, which was ever apparent in this king's conduct,

conduct, than the treatment which these two noblemen received: the one was sent into exile unaccused, and the other unconvicted. Through the whole kingdom a seditious murmur ran against the king, which the rigour of authority weakened, but could not silence. The duke of Norfolk, overwhelmed with chagrin, retired to Venice, where, abandoning himself to grief, he soon after died; whilst the more time-serving Hereford, acquiesced in the award with submissive deference. Richard was so much pleased with the deportment of his cousin Henry, that before the latter quitted the kingdom, the king remitted four years of the term of his banishment, and granted him letters-patent, by which he was enabled to take immediate possession of any inheritance which might fall to him during his absence, and was exempted from doing homage to the king, for such possessions, until his return. The duke of Hereford withdrew to Paris. Soon after, his father, the duke of Lancaster, dying, he preferred his petition to the king, to be invested with his honours and estates; but Richard basely retracting the grant he had so lately made, controlled the parliament into a concurrence with his wishes; and, by an act of the legislature, the king's letters-patent were not only reversed, but the estates of the late duke of Lancaster were seized for the uses of the crown, and the sentence of banishment against the duke made perpetual. Such complicated injuries could not fail to aggravate the resentment of the duke against the king, which he had hitherto concealed, under the most specious shew of loyalty; and these injuries, probably, first turned his thoughts towards acquiring the crown of England. No man was better qualified for such an attempt than the duke of Hereford; he was cool, circumspect, penetrating, and inflexible; of tried courage, and great military skill, having served in Prussia
under

under the Teutonic knights. Such amiable qualities, and noble endowments, made him the darling both of the soldiery and common people : his wealth was immense ; and, either by blood or alliance, he was connected with most of the noble families in the kingdom.

As if Richard had secretly aimed at promoting the interests of the duke, about this time, when a general ferment prevailed, the king caused the fortresses of Cherbourg, in Normandy, to be delivered up to the king of Navarre, and the town of Brest, to the duke of Bretagne. The Irish were the first to express their discontents in open acts of hostility. Roger Mortimer, earl of March, governor of Ireland, and presumptive heir to the crown of England, (Richard having no child) fell a sacrifice to this popular rage. To chastise the Irish for the murder of this nobleman, and to repress their rebellion, the king drew together a considerable army, and a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he landed at Waterford, early in the year 1399. The duke of Hereford, now taking his father's title of duke of Lancaster, being informed of Richard's departure from England, sailed from Nantes with three small vessels, and landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, in July of the same year, with a retinue of sixty persons. He was immediately joined by the potent earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland ; and having published a manifesto, in which he asserted, that he had taken arms only to obtain satisfaction for the injustice with which he had been treated, the people considering him as an injured and oppressed man, took up arms in his support ; so that, in a few days, he saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men.

Every thing was propitious to the cause of the exiled duke : contrary winds sat in for three weeks, so as to prevent the news of these commotions being carried

carried to the king in Ireland. The delay of Richard's return to England proved fatal to his cause. His adherents had raised an army of forty thousand men: but these troops being but weakly grounded in their allegiance, finding their king not arrived to lead them on, quitted the royal standard, and went over to the male-contents; so that Richard perceived, on his landing in England, that he was a king without adherents: he saw himself in the midst of an enraged people, forsaken by those, who, in the sun-shine of royalty, had been most assiduous to fan his follies. Destitute of an army with which to take the field, he shut himself up in Conway-Castle, in Caernarvonshire, which place was deemed impregnable, but was, at that time, unprovided for a defence. From hence he sent a message to the earl of Northumberland, signifying his desire to resign his crown. The precedent of his great-grandfather Edward the Second, was too recent to be overlooked at this juncture. The king was soon taught to feel the misery of his situation: he was conducted, a prisoner, to London; every where accosted with the execrations of his subjects, whilst the duke of Lancaster was received with the warmest acclamations. After having endured unceasing indignities in his progress towards London, he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower; and, shortly after, the parliament proceeded to depose him. Like his ancestor, in similar circumstances, he did not long survive his degradation; for being carried from place to place, he, at length, ended his days at Pomfret-Castle: but the manner of his death is not certainly known, though it is generally believed to have been violent.

Thus died the son of the brave Edward the black prince, and the grandson of Edward the Third, both of whom had won the hearts of the English, for their noble achievements. Richard the Second
came

came to the throne with the strongest popular prepossessions in his favour; but an uniform course of baseness, oppression, and cruelty, changed a nation's love into the most rooted aversion. The reign of this prince was weak and inglorious. Attached to pomp and ostentation, and soothed by the flattery of designing favourites, Richard appears to have harboured no wish to promote the welfare of his people. His fate, however, holds out a lesson to sovereigns, which should teach them, that the abuse of power may prove fatal, in the issue, to the lawless despot; and that the resentment of an oppressed people may be long suppressed, but, like a torrent breaking down the mound that fenced it in, it possesses an inherent force, sufficient to overwhelm whatever opposes its progress. Richard was thirty-three years old at the time of his death. He succeeded his grandfather when only eleven years of age, and lived two years after he had been deprived of the regal diadem.



C H A P. VI.

The Naval History of England during the Reigns of Henry IV. V. and VI. of the House of Lancaster.

THE parliament elected the duke of Lancaster king, in the stead of Richard the Second, by the title of Henry IV. From this succession arose the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which turned the swords of Englishmen against each other's breasts. This prince was crowned on the 13th of October, 1399. No sooner was he invested with his regal dignity, than he began to experience the perplexities that are appendant to it. The earl of Northumberland, who had been the chief means of his advancement, being possessed of a degree of power beyond the condition of a subject, was ever a factious adherent to the reigning prince; and whilst the Welsh, under the conduct of Owen Glendour, were attempting to throw off the English yoke, the Scotch, ever ready to take advantage of civil distractions, began to raise disturbances in the north. An alliance which Henry formed on the continent, served likewise to expose his kingdom to a fresh enemy. He married Joan, the daughter of Charles, king of Navarre*; which alliance being disrelished by the people of that duchy, with their ships they made piratical depredations on the western coast of England, and burnt Plymouth†. So base an outrage, however, did not remain long unrevenged: a squadron was fitted out by the inhabitants of those

* An. Dom. 1403.

† Thom. Walsingham.

parts that had suffered by the invasion, the command of which was entrusted to William de Wilford, admiral of the narrow seas; who soon retaliated the injuries sustained. Forty ships, laden with iron, soap, oil, and wine, fell into his hands: then proceeding to the coast of Navarre, he burnt an equal number of vessels in their harbours; wasting, with fire and sword, the coast of Bretagne, and the towns of Penmarch and St. Matthew. De Castel, the admiral of Navarre, at the same time appeared off the Isle of Wight; but unable to make good his landing there, he sailed towards Devonshire, and directed his force against Dartmouth; but the country people flying to arms, drove him back to his ships with considerable loss. The commander, together with two hundred of his men, were made prisoners. The Flemings, upon this, lent their aid to strengthen the hands of the discomfited Navarreens, shewing their animosity to the English, by inhumanly hanging all the seamen that fell in their way. At the same time the French, ever willing to profit by the embarrassments of their neighbours, in open violation of a solemn treaty subsisting between the two nations, invaded the duchy of Guienne; and at the same time furnished twelve thousand men, and a fleet of one hundred sail, to Owen Glendour, the Welsh insurgent. But this breach of public faith met with due chastisement; for the lord Berkley, and Henry Pay, who commanded the naval force of the Cinque-Ports, attacked the French in Milford-Haven, took and destroyed near one-third of their fleet, and compelled the rest to abandon their enterprize, and return, ignominiously, to their own ports. About the same time the earl of Kent sailed, with a considerable fleet, to the coast of Flanders, where he cruised, for some time, upon the enemy: the Flemings being then subject to a prince of the house

of France. At length entering the port of Sluys, he made himself master of some ships lying at anchor there. Proceeding along the Norman coast, he spread devastation in his route. Upwards of thirty towns are said to have fallen victims to his fury : immense spoil was procured on this expedition, and the whole fleet returned in safety to Rye. A Scotch ship was, at the same time, taken, on board of which was prince James, brother to the duke of Rothsay, and heir apparent to the Scottish crown ; to which he afterwards succeeded, by the name of James I. This prince was sent to the king at Windsor, who detained him a prisoner, but treated him with great courtesy. The French sending another fleet to Wales, many of these ships fell into the hands of the English, and only thirty arrived safe at the place of their destination. To complete the triumphs of the English at this time by sea, Henry Pay, admiral of the Cinque-Ports, surprized the Rochelle fleet, consisting of one hundred and twenty sail of merchantmen, richly laden ; every one of which he captured *.

Henry IV. however, found his finances very unequal to the making head against such numerous and powerful enemies. In his exigencies the Lombard merchants, residing in London, rendered themselves very serviceable, by advancing him money. The body of men so denominated, were composed of the natives of the four Italian republics of Genoa, Lucca, Florence, and Venice. The society of the Genoese lent the king one thousand marks, and the Florentines five hundred, in the year 1404 ; for the re-payment of which the receipts of the customs of the ports of London, Southampton, and Sandwich, were mortgaged to them †.

* Tho. Walsingham. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. i. p. 238.

† Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. viii. p. 358.

—This appears to be the first instance of the crown borrowing money on the credit of the yearly stated revenue, which, in after-times, was adopted without scruple; by which means the exigencies of the state at one period, were entailed on another, and the most fatal evils were introduced. However, this does not appear to have been an act of the legislative body, but merely an arbitrary stretch of the royal prerogative.

In the year 1407 the king narrowly escaped the fate which had befallen prince James of Scotland. A dreadful plague in London obliged him to pass a part of the summer at Leeds-Castle, in Kent; from whence he embarked at the port of Queenborough, with only five ships, to proceed round to Essex. In this short trip he was attacked by some French privateers, who, after an obstinate engagement, made prize of every vessel except that which the king was on board. This hair-breadth escape roused the attention of the king to marine concerns: the next year he ordered a strong fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to the earl of Kent. This gallant officer executed his trust with bravery and spirit, clearing the narrow seas of all roving plunderers: he then proceeded to the coast of Bretagne, and discovering that the privateers which had so successfully attacked the king's little fleet, were laid up in a small island off that coast, he made a descent there, carried the place by storm, and, according to the sanguinary temper of those times, put all to the sword. With this exploit he closed his life, receiving, in the action, a wound which proved mortal*.

Shortly after, an English fleet, commanded by Sir Robert Umfreville, carried on a predatory war on the coast of Scotland. He sailed up the Forth, carrying fire and sword into the country, and de-

* Walsingham.

stroying

stroying all the ships in the harbours; among the rest the largest ship in the Scotch navy, which was called the Grand Galliot in Blackness, was consumed; fourteen ships, and a quantity of corn, were taken, and brought to England*.

Rymer's *Fædera* now furnishes us with the first instance of Englishmen trading to Morocco†. A company of London merchants freighted several ships with wool, and other merchandize, to the value of twenty-four thousand pounds, for the western ports of Morocco; but the Genoese, jealous of this commerce, made prize of those London ships outward-bound, and carried them into Genoa; whereupon Henry IV. in the last year of his reign, granted the sufferers letters of reprisal, on the ships and merchandize of the Genoese, wherever they could find them.

On the 20th of March, 1413, the king died, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. The government under him became more tinctured with a spirit of liberty; the distinction between the nobility and the people was rendered less considerable, and the magistrates became less arbitrary, and less venal: judges were no longer the ministers of royal caprice‡.

During the life-time of his father, Henry, prince of Wales, had given himself up to an unbridled course of profligacy; nevertheless, at intervals, such striking instances of valour, conduct, and generosity burst forth, as gave a happy presage of future reformation. In the civil commotions between the crown and the Northumberland faction, this prince had defeated and slain Harry Percy, the duke's eldest son, who was considered as a prodigy of military prowess; and, for his feats in arms, had received the surname of Hotspur. The active

* Stowe, p. 338.

† Vol. viii, p. 755.

‡ Goldsmith.

spirit which marked the early manhood of the prince of Wales, led the people to overlook the follies which disgraced it.

HENRY the Fifth, from his birth-place styled Henry of Monmouth, succeeded to the crown on the death of his father. The first act of this reign was, an attempt to extirpate the religious tenets which had been broached by Wickliffe, in the reign of Richard II. and were now propagated by his adherents, to the great discomfiture of the whole body of the clergy, who loudly exclaimed against innovations that struck at the very foundation of their establishment. The king, led away by the insinuations of the archbishop of Canterbury, delivered up these reformers to the fury of their adversaries, who persecuted them with every species of cruelty, which blind zeal, and worldly interest, could suggest. Although the complexion of the times was fierce and cruel, yet the people, in general, felt a natural abhorrence at making conscientious Christians spectacles of public infamy, and exposing them to cruel deaths by the hands of the executioner. As the king abetted these violent measures of the clergy, a considerable part of the popular odium lit on him. To divert the attention of the nation, therefore, from the measures pursued, it is generally believed, that the same prelate inspired the king with the design of subduing France: such was this man's insatiable thirst for blood!

The troubles in which France was at that time involved, held out a very flattering lure to an ambitious prince. Charles VII. the French king, was subject to paroxysms of madness, which totally unfitted him for the task of government. Those seasons, in which he was a prey to his disorder, his vassals and courtiers availed themselves of, to advance

vance and strengthen themselves; their consequence, therefore, increased, in proportion to the imbecility of the king. The kingdom was divided into two factions; at the head of the one was the duke of Burgundy; at the other the duke of Orleans. Each of these, as they chanced to prevail, branded their captives with the name of traitors; and the bodies of the accused, and the accusers, were, at the same time, suspended on gibbets, in different parts of the kingdom.

Henry V. seized this opportunity to revive the dormant claims on the crown of France, which his illustrious ancestor Edward III. had so gloriously, but so destructively contended for. However, the king concealed his intentions for some time, and even treated of a marriage with the princess Catharine, daughter to the French king. It is a commonly received opinion, that the dauphin of France roused the resentment of king Henry, by sending him a present of tennis-balls; but Mr. Campbell very sensibly rejects it as improbable, both on account of the youth of that prince, and the apprehension all France entertained of the English power*. The French writers seem to give a better account of this matter: they tell us, that the first flash of lightning before this dreadful storm, was an angry letter written to the French king, with this address: "To the most serene prince Charles, our cousin and adversary of France, Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, and of France, &c." This letter was dated the 28th of July, 1415, from Southampton; and the French king returned an answer in the same angry style, dated the 23d of the next month: so that, from that time, the war was looked upon as declared on both sides†.

* Lives of the Admirals, Vol. i. p. 242.
p. 192.

† Mezeray, Vol. iii.

When

When Henry prepared for his invasion of France, he hired ships in Holland and Zealand, and built others at Southampton, to rendezvous at London, Sandwich, and Winchelsea. He also issued an ordinance, directing all English ships of twenty tons burden and upwards, to assemble at these three ports, and at Southampton; which united fleet is said to have consisted of sixteen hundred sail of ships; hulks, &c. with which naval force he landed at Havre-de-Grace, in Normandy. He was attended, in this expedition, by his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his uncle the duke of York, and most of the nobility of England; and his army consisted of fifty thousand men. On his landing, Henry laid siege to Harfleur, a sea-port town in the neighbourhood of Havre, then of great consequence, and defended by a numerous garrison, which he reduced, though not without considerable loss. The constable of France, although at the head of a numerous army, was directed not to hazard a battle with the English. Indeed, the intense heat of the season, and a scanty supply of provisions, served as effectually to reduce the numbers of the invaders, as the swords of their enemies; a contagious dysentery carrying off the soldiers by thousands. Henry began to repent of his inroad into a country where disease, and a powerful army, every moment threatened him with destruction: in this exigence he assembled a council of war, in which it was determined to leave a garrison in Harfleur, and proceed with the army through Picardy to Calais. The amount of the English troops is differently represented: the English writers make their numbers to reach only nine thousand men; whilst the French say eleven thousand archers, and two thousand men at arms: however, it is certain, that the army of Charles more than

trebled that of Henry. The French army was so situated, as to render the progress of the English through Picardy impracticable, without occasioning a general action. Accordingly, a decisive battle was fought on the plains of Agincourt, the 25th of October, 1415. The two armies were engaged from ten in the morning till almost five in the afternoon; and, at length, the French were entirely defeated. Seven princes of the blood were slain in the field, and five more made prisoners; besides about twenty-four thousand of inferior rank, either slain or taken prisoners. The loss of the English is very differently stated: some writers representing it to amount to sixteen hundred, whilst others reduce it to four hundred. The duke of York, and the earl of Oxford, were among the slain. After this victory, the king proceeded to Calais, and soon after passed into England, with the chief of his prisoners.

The next year the French laid siege to Harfleur, with a great army on the land-side, whilst their fleet blocked it up by sea: but the English navy, commanded by the duke of Bedford, the king's brother, coming to the relief of the place, a desperate sea-fight ensued, which ended in the entire defeat of the French; five hundred sail of their ships being either sunk or taken.

At this time the king of England being in great want of money for the pay of his troops, exercised a despotic authority over the Lombard merchants settled in England; who were, by an order of council, compelled to lend the king a certain sum of money: the reason assigned for this impost was, that they enjoyed by grace and sufferance of the king great privileges, and got great profits by their commerce in England: such as refused to lend, were committed to the Fleet prison*.

In the year 1417, the earl of Huntingdon being sent to sea with a strong squadron, fell in with the united fleets of France and Genoa, which he fought and defeated, though they were much superior to him, not only in number, but in the strength and size of their ships. Among the prisoners of rank was the admiral of Bourbon*.

Henry now resolved to pursue his favourite enterprize against France: he had raised an army of twenty-six thousand men; in procuring which he was greatly assisted by his barons, who were led to further the views of their sovereign, from a prospect of sharing the spoils of the conquered country. He was likewise master of a navy composed of fifteen hundred sail. Two of these ships were constructed in a very remarkable manner; each alike adorned with purple sails, embroidered with the arms of England and France: one of these was named the king's Chamber, and the other his Hall: a proof that he kept his court at sea, and considered his ships-royal as forming a kind of palace. With this armament he proceeded to Beville, in Normandy, where he landed his troops. Before the end of the year he subdued all Normandy, and a great part of the adjacent countries; and in the space of two years, without fighting one pitched battle, he reduced the greater part of France to his obedience.

At length a treaty was concluded†, by which Henry's title to the crown of France was acknowledged by that kingdom; but, during the life of Charles, Henry was to be recognized as regent only, the titular sovereignty continuing with the former. Catharine, the French king's daughter, was given to the king of England in marriage; and

* Holinghead, Campbell, Burchett,

† 23rd May, 1420.

the dauphin was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown.

Things being adjusted in this manner, Henry entered the city of Paris without opposition, taking to himself the entire reins of government; whilst the feeble Charles had only the gewgaw of majesty. The two kings, with their queens, and a splendid court, continued, for some time, at Paris; from whence king Henry went into Normandy, where he held an assembly of the states; and, passing through Picardy to Calais, he arrived at Dover, with his new queen, early in the year 1421.

In the mean time the dauphin wandered, like a fugitive in his own dominions; whilst Henry returned to London to raise new subsidies, and new troops, to secure his acquisitions. The presence of a monarch, endeared to them by his successful valour, was highly captivating to a people fond of martial glory: but this glare of success could not prevent their seeing very destructive consequences springing out of these conquests; among which the transferring the seat of empire to the continent, was not the least considerable. These political reasons rendered the parliament backward to grant supplies equal to the king's requisitions. Among other shifts to which the king was reduced, in order to raise money, he pawned his imperial crown of gold to the bishop of Winchester. After a few months stay in England, he re-visited his new kingdom, with such reinforcements as the exhausted state of his country could yield him. The dauphin had still a considerable party, which had become much more formidable during the time that Henry continued in England: he had likewise defeated a large body of English troops, in which action the duke of Clarence, and several nobility, were slain.

Henry,

Henry, on his arrival in France, prepared to stop the progress of the enemy. His queen, whom he had left at Windsor with child, being soon after delivered of a prince, followed the king, her husband, to Paris, in which city the two courts continued for some time. But Henry, impatient of delays, went in search of the dauphin, who had laid siege to Cosne, on the Loire. On this expedition the king was seized with a fistula, a malady, to the cure of which the surgeons of that æra were unequal: this, and the violent fever which attended it, proved quickly fatal. He died at the castle of Vincennes*, with the same intrepidity with which he had lived, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey. He deserves to be celebrated as one of the greatest, as well as bravest princes, that ever sat on the English throne, although only thirty-four years of age when he died. He reigned nine years and a half. His competitor, the unhappy Charles, survived him only two months.

The thrones of England and of France were now filled by an infant in his cradle. HENRY the Sixth, of Windsor, was proclaimed first at London †, and the next year at Paris, on the demise of Charles the Sixth, notwithstanding a strong party acknowledged the dauphin for their sovereign, by the style of Charles VII ‡. During the minority of Henry, the administration of affairs devolved on his uncles, whose great abilities procured them the confidence of the people. Of these John, duke of Bedford (who was regent of France) was appointed protector, or guardian of England; and Humphry, duke of Gloucester, was invested with the same dignity, during the absence of the former. Properly to curb the authority of these princes, the parlia-

* An. Dom. 1422.
Vol. iii. p. 215.

† An. Dom. 1429.

‡ Mezeray

ment established a council, and enacted, that no measure of importance should be carried into execution, without their advice and approbation. Dissentions soon after breaking out among those to whom the administration of affairs was entrusted, the interests of the nation became sacrificed to the cabals of statesmen. The minority of Henry gave both duration and growing strength to these dissentions, and brought England to much the same condition as France was thrown into, when Henry, the father of the present prince, laid claim to that crown.

Charles the Seventh had been trained in the school of adversity, and had been taught the duties and the interests of a king, from the precarious tenure by which he held his dignity. The natural endowments of his mind, therefore, were improved, by being kept in continual exercise, and the attachment of the French to the house of Valois was strengthened, by seeing their monarch making head against the torrent of opposition that threatened to overwhelm him. The English, however, at this time, were masters of almost all France; the duke of Bedford, with a numerous army, was in the heart of the kingdom. In this situation nothing but miraculous assistance, or pretended miracles, could restore the affairs of the dauphin; but such are the vicissitudes of fortune, that the martial spirit of a country girl, inspired the French troops with a degree of valour which they had never before possessed, and imparted that dismay which had hitherto prevailed among them, to their victorious enemies the English.

The servant maid at an inn assumed, at once, the characters of a warrior and a prophetess: she had a masculine form, and an intrepid spirit. This woman, who pretended to be no more than eighteen years of age, and who is well known by the name
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of Joan of Arc, equipped herself in the arms and habit of a man; and it was presently circulated through the nation, that she was inspired. This pretended vicegerent of heaven was introduced to the king, after which she was questioned by the learned doctors of the universities, who unanimously attested the authenticity of her mission. The vulgar, ever ready to be worked upon by their hopes and their fears, gave implicit faith to the report, and, with an intrepid spirit, led on by this woman-warrior, faced those foes, whom they had before considered as invincible. The duke of Bedford, with the English forces, was laying close siege to the city of Orleans, the possession of which place was only wanting to divest Charles of all his territories. His approaches were vigorous, and the fate of the place became inevitable. Joan undertook to raise the siege; and, to give an éclat to her enterprize, ordered a sword to be brought her from the tomb of a knight, who had been buried in the church of Fierbois. She addressed the soldiers as a messenger from heaven, and, with a convincing air of confidence, assured them of victory. The event confirmed her declaration; the siege of Orleans was raised, and the English every where fled before this prodigy of her sex. Soon after which Charles was crowned at Rheims, when this, his deliverer, assisted at the coronation.

A series of farther successes placed the affairs of the French king in the most prosperous train. Charles was very capable of pushing these advantages to the utmost. In the midst of his triumphs, however, Joan of Arc, the gallant leader of his armies, was taken prisoner. The English were, beyond measure, elated at this event: the duke of Bedford, their general, thought no method so effectual to restore the lost courage of his troops, as to cause this girl to be tried for witchcraft. Her judges found
her

her guilty of forcery, and sentenced her to be closely confined for life, and to be fed with no other provisions than bread and water. But this punishment not according with the impatience of her incensed enemies; soon afterwards she was condemned to be publicly burnt as a witch. But the death of this woman no ways changed the posture of affairs. One of the most illustrious characters that fought on the side of England, was Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who, together with his son, for some time protracted the ruin that was impending over the English in France: however, in the year 1437, Charles VII. made his triumphal entry into Paris; and, in the course of thirteen years more, the English were entirely stripped of their possessions in France, Calais and Guienne only excepted. So ineffectual were the victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.

Whilst England fruitlessly repined at her losses on the continent, the seeds of her future misery were sowed, in an internal commotion, which then first began to appear. The duke of York, son of him who was slain at Agincourt, founded pretensions to the crown of England, as deriving his birth from Lionel, an elder son of Edward; whilst the reigning king sprang from John a Gaunt, a younger brother of Lionel. The ensign of the duke was a white rose, that of Henry a red. This gave names to the two houses, whose contentions were about to drench the kingdom with slaughter. These events, although unconnected with the naval operations of the times, deserve to be briefly related, to give the reader a clear idea of the state of public affairs during the period we are describing. Before we enter on such matters as more immediately concern our plan, it will be necessary farther to premise, that Henry VI. had married Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, king of Sicily, and niece of the French king Charles;

Charles ; the mental incapacity of the king her husband, furnished her with an opportunity of exercising those talents for state-affairs, which she possessed in a very eminent degree. The chief impediment to her ambitious views was the duke of Gloucester ; him she assailed by every engine, which policy and intrigue could supply ; and the sudden death of the duke, doubtless procured by the queen's adherents, gave her an ascendancy in the government, which she well knew how to improve.

The duke of Suffolk, a descendant of William de la Pole, who assisted Edward III. in his exigencies, and who has been already spoken of*, had been the principal means of effecting the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou ; and now, in conjunction with the queen, managed the affairs of government without restraint : but not content with a moderate exercise of that power he had acquired, he drew on himself the resentment of the duke of York, for the abuse of it, who inflamed the parliament, and the whole nation, against the favourite. The public clamour, at length, became so loud, that the duke of Suffolk was sent into banishment. In his passage to France his vessel was visited by an English ship of force, the captain of which, on discovering this obnoxious minister, ordered his head to be struck off immediately.

England was now divided by two powerful parties ; at the head of the one was queen Margaret, and of the other the duke of York. The partizans of the house of York recommended themselves to the body of the people, and spread a general discontent at the measures pursued by government : indeed, the supineness shewn in protecting the nation from foreign inroads, was too evident, and

* Page 137.

in its consequences too fatal, not to excite general clamour. The principal support of the York interest was the earl of Warwick, who filled the office of lord high admiral. This brave and accomplished nobleman fitted out a fleet, which he sent against the Spaniards: a very warm conflict ensued; but, at length, the force of Spain was vanquished, and six ships of that nation, laden with iron, and other valuable merchandize, were taken; and twenty-six others were either sunk or driven ashore.

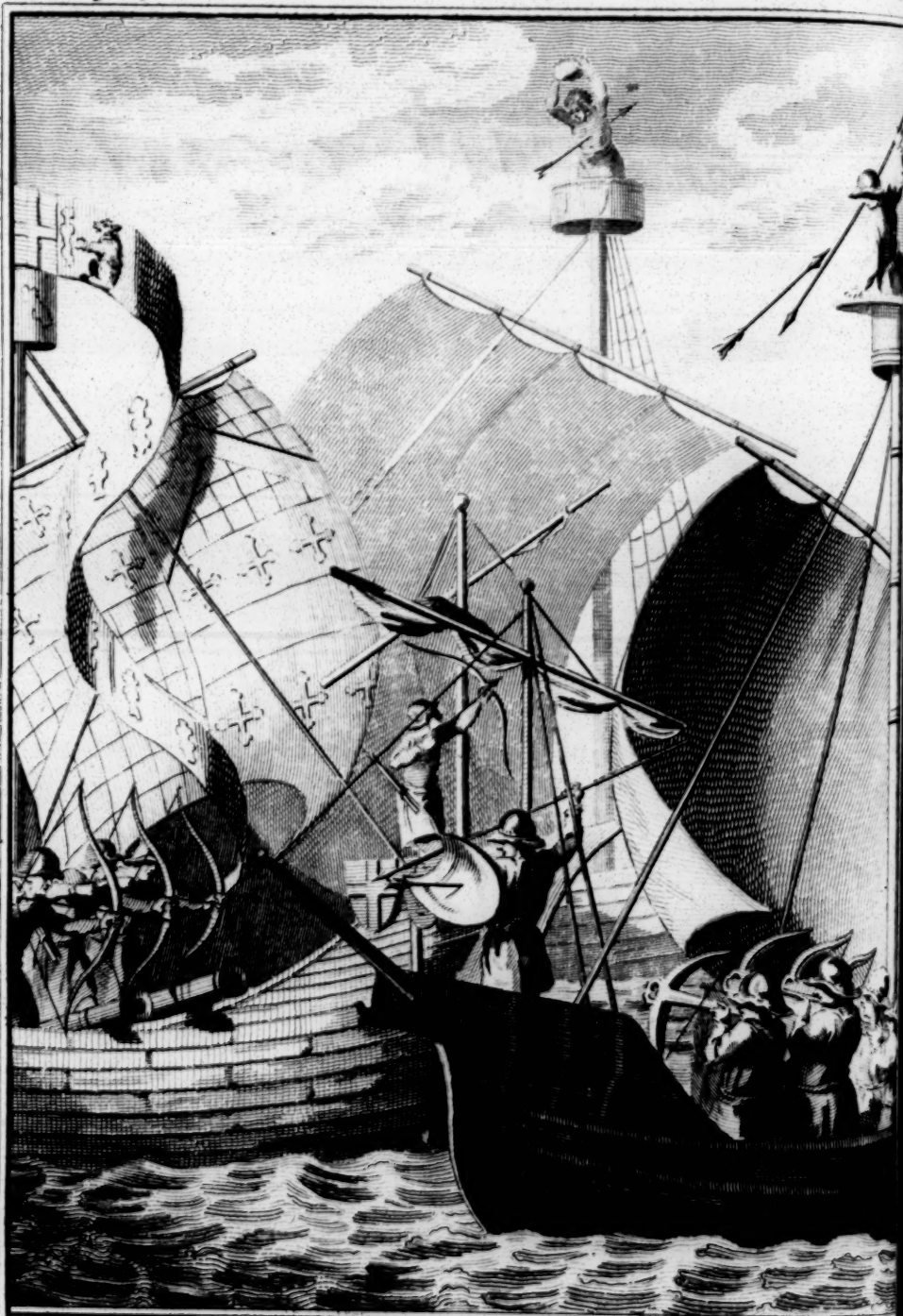
About the same time a misunderstanding arose between England and the court of Denmark, occasioned by the former fishing on the coasts of Iceland, in opposition to the prohibitions expressly made against it. The governor of Iceland, in attempting to drive away some English, who had landed there, was killed. To revenge this injury the court of Denmark seized on, and confiscated, four English ships bound from Prussia. The Hanse-Towns being suspected of abetting these proceedings of Denmark, the persons and ships of their merchants, who were then in England, were seized by way of reprisal: the German princes having, in vain, sued at the English court for the release of these merchants, together with their ships and merchandize, at length a naval war broke out between England and the oriental Hanseatics, or the towns within the Baltic, on the German and Prussian seas, which continued for three years with various success; but the posture of affairs at that time, in England, was very unfavourable to the maintaining of a foreign war: a weak king, and powerful and opposing factions, debilitated the national strength, which, when fully exerted, has ever been found sufficient to crush the power that opposes it.

The time was now come for the fortune of France every where to preponderate. In the year 1453 Bourdeaux surrendered to Charles VII. after the
English



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Engrav'd for Hervey's Naval History.



*Engagement between Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick
and two great French Carracks about the Year 1469*
J. Collyer sc.

From a Drawing by John Rouse in an ancient M.S. in the Cotton Libr. marked Julius E. IV.

English had possessed it for about three hundred years. The loss of this place was a great blow to the maritime traffic of England, as the wines shipped from thence supplied the whole kingdom with that article. Bayonne soon after became subject to France; after which, nothing remained on the continent in the hands of the English, but the town of Calais, and the adjacent country of Guienne. The French having, in three months, reduced the whole duchy of Normandy, and, in one summer, that of Aquitaine, or Gascony; they then proceeded to annoy the English coasts with their ships, and landing in Kent, burnt the town of Sandwich; proceeding thence to the coast of Cornwall, they burnt the town of Fowey.

The earl of Warwick, who had been appointed governor of Calais, passed over thither, baffling the attempts of the queen's party to cut him off by treachery. Being possessed of a considerable naval force, he employed it so effectually, as to intercept all aid from France to strengthen the hands of Margaret, and very essentially to promote the interests of the duke of York. In one of these cruises he fell in with some large ships belonging to Spain and Genoa, which he overcame, after an obstinate engagement, maintained, on both sides, for two succeeding days*.

* An engagement between Richard, earl of Warwick, and two large French carracks, is described in Strutt's complete View of the Manners, &c. of the Inhabitants of England, Vol. II. p. 76. Herein the arms of the earl are quartered on the sail; the streamer is also ornamented with his badge; the bear and ragged staff: the space between the fore-castle and cabin, at the stern, is filled with English archers. The French, likewise, have their cross-bow-men. In the galleries, on the tops of the masts, are men appointed to cast down darts and stones, upon the enemy below. On the fore-castle of Warwick's ship is an archer aiming at the man, who appears in the gallery, on the mast of the opposite ship, whilst the other, with a stone in his hands, is transfix'd with an arrow. On the fore-castle of the front carrack, is a man at arms, with his spear and shield, ready to strike at the archers in the earl's vessel. The cannons are pointed over the side of the ship, but do not appear to be of use in the close battle.—As a representation of this action may still farther explain the naval architecture, and operations of the times, an engraving thereof accompanies this work.

The views of each party now hurried them on to open and unreserved acts of hostility. The duke of York retired into Ireland; and many of the nobility passed over to Calais, where the earl of Warwick still kept a considerable fleet. The queen commissioned lord Rivers to collect, at Sandwich, the royal navy, and attack Warwick in Calais. But that vigilant commander anticipated the intended visit, and sent a force, under the command of Sir John Dineham, which surprized the king's ships as they lay in harbour, and carried them, and their commander, the lord Rivers, into Calais. An ineffectual attempt was afterwards made to burn the earl's fleet in the haven.

Meanwhile Richard, duke of York, levied an army, professedly to oppose the duke of Somerset, who was then at the head of the queen's army, but without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation in the government. A battle was fought at St. Albans*, in which the Yorkists prevailed; and, without sustaining any considerable loss, slew near five thousand of their enemies; among whom were the duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Stafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, lord Clifford, and many other persons of distinction†. Immediately after this action the king himself was taken prisoner, and was treated by the duke of York with great respect and tenderness: he was only required to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival: this surrender did no great violence to the feelings of the inactive Henry.

In this battle the first blood was spilt in that fatal quarrel, which was not finished in less time than a

* An. Dom. 1455.

† Stowe, p. 309. Holingshed, p. 643.

course of thirty years; was distinguished by twelve pitched battles, and opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty. The civil war waged, on this account, is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. The strong attachments which, at that time, men of the same kindred bore to each other, and the vindictive spirit which was considered as a point of honour, rendered the great families implacable in their resentments, and every moment widened the breach between the parties. Yet affairs did not proceed immediately to the last extremities: the nation was kept some time in suspense: the vigour and spirit of queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance for the great authority of Richard, which was farther checked by his irresolute temper*.

The vicissitudes of war sometimes make fugitives of conquerors. The duke of York, and his powerful supporter the earl of Warwick, by the defection of a chosen body of troops, which the latter had brought from Calais, were obliged to quit the kingdom; the one retiring to Ireland, the other to Calais†.

The earl, however, did not remain long inactive; the next year he landed in Kent, after having defeated Sir Simon Mountford, the warden of the Cinque-Ports, who, with a strong squadron, opposed his descent. In this action Sir Simon was killed. He then proceeded, with the earl of Salisbury, and the earl of Marche, eldest son of the duke of York, to London, where he was received with great cordiality. Warwick was the most celebrated general of his age, a man formed for great exploits, and possessing such popularity as

* Hume's Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 201.

† An. Dom. 1459.

almost



almost to insure success to the party with whom he sided. This earl, at the head of the army of Yorkists, joined battle with the Lancastrian forces near Northampton. Queen Margaret, who headed the army that fought for the king her husband, had twenty-five thousand men, which were greatly outnumbered by the enemy. The contest was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides, for the space of five hours, when victory declaring for the earl of Warwick, a great number of the nobility, who had fought on the side of the king, were sacrificed to the resentment of the conquerors*.

The queen, after this defeat, fled, with her infant son, to Durham, and from thence to Scotland; whilst a parliament was summoned, in the king's name, to meet at Westminster, in order to give a sanction to the pretensions of Richard. In this assembly it was resolved, that Henry should possess the throne during life, and that the duke of York should be his successor, to the entire exclusion of the prince of Wales.

All resources seemed now to be withdrawn from the vanquished Margaret: but in this desperate posture of her affairs, she retained her native perseverance and intrepidity. Again passing into England, she applied to the northern barons, and made use of every motive to influence them to assist her. Her affability, insinuation, and address, qualities in which she excelled; her caresses and her promises, wrought a powerful effect on every one who approached her. The admiration of her great qualities was succeeded by compassion towards her helpless condition. The nobility of that quarter, who regarded themselves as the most warlike in the kingdom, were moved, by indignation, to find the southern barons pretend to dispose of the crown,

* An. Dom. 1460.

and settle the government. To allure the people to their standard, they promised them the spoils of all the country south of the Trent. An army of twenty thousand men was drawn together by these means, with a celerity that surprized both parties.

This army the queen led against her implacable enemy the duke of York, who was at the head of only five thousand men, little expecting to contend with so large a body of foes. An excess of personal bravery engaged him in a very unequal battle, on Wakefield-Green, in Yorkshire. The duke himself was killed in the action, and his body being found among the slain, Margaret directed the head to be cut off, and fixed upon the walls of the city of York. The earl of Rutland, the duke's second son, a youth of seventeen, fell in the fight. Thus died Richard, duke of York, in the fiftieth year of his age: he left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard; and three daughters, Ann, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

The queen, after this important victory, marched towards London; whilst the earl of Warwick, at the head of an army of Yorkists; proceeded to oppose her progress. A second battle was fought at St. Albans, which ended in the defeat of the earl. But young Edward, the son of the deceased duke of York, lost no time in depriving the queen of the advantages which she was likely to draw from this victory. He was at the head of a considerable army, which was greatly reinforced by the remains of that of the earl of Warwick; so that the victorious queen found herself obliged to retreat towards the north, whilst Edward entered London amidst the acclamations of the citizens. This prince, in the bloom of youth, remarkable for the beauty of his person, for bravery, spirit, courtesy, and every amiable quality that procures general esteem, found the tide of popularity run so strong
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in his favour, that his youthful ardour prompted him to advance beyond the limits which his father had prescribed to himself, and to aspire at nothing short of kingly dignity, as well as power. To effect this, Warwick assembled the people in St. John's fields; and shewing them this son of the late duke, demanded whether they would have Henry, of Lancaster, for king? They unanimously exclaimed against the proposal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, then before them? To which they expressed their assent, by loud acclamations. A great number of bishops, lords, magistrates, and other persons of distinction, were next assembled at Baynard's-Castle, who there ratified this popular election; and the new king was, on the subsequent day, proclaimed in London, by the title of Edward the Fourth *. Thus was Henry VI. deposed, after holding, though very unsteadily, the English sceptre near thirty-nine years †.

The most remarkable commercial events of this period are the following:

At this time lived William Canning, an eminent merchant, who had been five times mayor of Bristol. In the eleventh volume of Rymer's *Fædera* ‡ are two letters from Henry VI. the one to the master-general of Prussia, the other to the magistrates of the city of Dantzick, recommending two of Canning's factors residing in Prussia; requesting all possible favour and countenance to be shewn them, on account of their employer, whom the king styles, his "beloved, and an eminent merchant of the city of Bristol." The next year the same William Canning obtained of the king, a grant of trading with two ships to Iceland, Halgelandt, and Finmark, for two years, notwithstanding

* March 5, 1461. Hume's History of England, Vol. iii. p. 213.

† Pol. Ver. lib. 23.

‡ Page 226.

an express act of parliament prohibited all trade thither—Thus was the king's dispensing power set up in opposition to the law of the land.

At the request of one John Taverner, of Hull, king Henry granted, that a large ship, which this man had built, and in size was equal, if not superior, to a great carrack, should be called the Grace-Dieu carrack. The king likewise granted a licence to the owner to export therein wool, tin, skins, leather, and other merchandize, from the ports of London, Southampton, Hull, and Sandwich, belonging either to English or to foreign merchants; and to convey it through the Straits of Morocco [Gibraltar] into Italy, he paying aliens duties for the same; and to bring home such merchandize of other nations as was most wanted in England, such as bow-staves, wax, &c *.

At the request of Charles, king of Sweden, king Henry granted a licence for a Swedish ship, of the burden of a thousand tons, laden with merchandize, and having one hundred and twenty persons on board, to come to the ports of England; there to dispose of her lading, and to relade back with English merchandize †. Thus we see those northern people had acquired the art of constructing ships of great burden, from the example of the Hanseatic ports of Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, &c. in their neighbourhood, long before either the English or the French had any vessels of such large dimensions.

We find a licence granted by the king to a merchant of Cracow, in Poland, to bring into England a ruby, weighing two hundred and fourteen carrats, for sale, provided the first offer of it was made to the king and queen.

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. xi. p. 258.

† Idem, Vol. xi. p. 364.

An English merchant-ship having been taken by a ship of war belonging to Genoa, in the Levant, all the Genoese merchants in London were seized, and committed to the Fleet prison; and were afterwards amerced in the sum of six thousand marks, to make good to the owners their loss by the capture. Hence it appears, that the English merchants had considerably extended their commerce, at this period.—The Genoese, and other Italians, at a very early period, named the seas east of Italy, by the general appellation of the Levant*.

The cluster of nine islands, lying from five hundred to almost eight hundred miles directly west from Portugal, called the Azores, Terceras, or Western Islands, was accidentally discovered by a Flemish trader, who, in a voyage he was making to Lisbon, happened to be driven, by a storm, so far westward, as those hitherto uninhabited islands. This discovery was made in the year 1449, or, according to others, in 1455. Some indeed place it so far later as the year 1481. The Cape de Verd Islands were discovered by the Spaniards in the year 1449.

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 277.



C H A P. VII.

The Naval History of England from the beginning of the Reign of Edward the Fourth, to the Death of Richard the Third: Containing the Reigns of the three Kings of the House of York. A. D. 1461—1485.—Marriage of Edward IV.—Defection of the Earl of Warwick—Coalition between Queen Margaret and that Nobleman—Edward driven to Holland—Battle of Barnet, and Death of Warwick—Margaret and her Son made Prisoners—Death of Henry VI.—Fate of Queen Margaret—Truce with France—Death of Edward IV.—View of the Trade and Commerce of his Reign—Minority of Edward V.—Richard, Duke of Gloucester, appointed Regent—and afterwards elected King—Proceedings during his Reign—Claims of Henry, Duke of Richmond, on the Throne—He lands at Milford-Haven—Battle of Bosworth—Revolution in Favour of the Duke of Richmond.

RICHARD, duke of York, the father of Edward IV. was, by his father's side, descended from the earl of Cambridge, the fourth son of Edward III. his mother was Anne, the sister of the last earl of Marche, who was descended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the second son of Edward III. by Philippa, his queen. The posterity of the black prince being extinct on the death of Richard II. the hereditary right of the house of Lancaster to the throne of England, was founded on Henry IV. deriving his birth from John of

Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the third son of Edward; whereas the duke of York, from his mother, fetched his descent from an elder son, though by his father sprung from a younger. We have seen, however, that young Edward, now in his twentieth year, not altogether resting his pretensions to the crown on the priority of his descent; strengthened his claims by a popular election, made in a tumultuous assembly of his own adherents. Mr. Hume describes this young king as bold, active, enterprising; with a hardness of heart, and severity of character, that rendered him impenetrable to all those movements of compassion, which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies*.

The persevering steadiness of queen Margaret, however, kept her buoyant amidst the waves of adversity: on this shipwreck of her fortune she passed over into France, where she drew over Louis XI. to assist her in dispossessing Edward, by promising to surrender Calais up to him, in case she succeeded in her enterprize. Being assisted with about two thousand men at arms, she directed her course for England, and landing in the north, became reinforced by a numerous train of adherents. Again she offered her enemy battle, and was again defeated, near Hexham. The loss of this battle seemed to deprive her of every resource. Henry fell into the hands of his enemies, who conveyed him a prisoner to London, and confined him in the Tower. The queen, after undergoing innumerable hardships, escaped out of the kingdom; and, in the most distressed situation, repaired to her father, whose ability to provide for her was extremely circumscribed.

* Hist. of England, Vol. iii, p. 216.

The king being now rid of all apprehensions from the Lancastrian party, gave a loose to the strong bent of his inclinations; and that sanguinary cruelty which had drenched him in the blood of his enemies, was succeeded by a familiar and sociable intercourse with his subjects. His indulgence in amusements, while it gratified his taste, became a means of supporting and securing his government. But as it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within strict bounds of prudence, the amorous temper of Edward hurried him into inconveniencies, which a more cautious prince would have laboured to avoid. Three years after he came to the crown he became enamoured of a beautiful and accomplished widow: the lady Elizabeth Gray, the object of his passion, either from a principle of virtue, or a confidence in the impression her charms had made on the youthful monarch, was deaf to his solicitations, until he offered to share with her his throne. The marriage was privately celebrated, and remained a secret for some time. At length, this lady being publicly recognized as queen, availed herself of the influence which she still had over the king, to heap dignities and wealth on her own friends and kindred. Her father, Sir Richard Woodeville, was created earl of Rivers, and invested with more than one lucrative post; and her whole family, in some way or other, partook of the royal benignity*. The earl of Warwick, at first, displeased with this hasty and imprudent alliance, was every day more irritated by the consequences resulting from it: he could not brook the least diminution of that credit which he had long possessed with the king, and which he considered as no more than justly his due, on account of his signal services. Edward, also, jealous of that

* An. Dom. 1466.

power which had raised him, finding himself no longer dependent on Warwick's support, took a secret pleasure in creating rivals in greatness to this potent earl: these political reasons strengthened his partiality to the queen's kindred. The body of English nobility, however, had other views: they beheld, with disgust, the sudden growth of the Woodevilles; and were, on that account, disposed to take part in Warwick's discontent, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed, and who had reconciled them to his superiority, by his gracious and popular manners.

Warwick, whose prudence was equal to his bravery, exerted both to gratify his revenge. He seduced Clarence, the king's brother; and, to confirm him in his interests, gave him his eldest daughter in marriage; the co-heiress of his immense fortunes: a settlement superior to any thing the king himself had to bestow*. Now throwing off the appearance of allegiance, he retired, with his son-in-law, to Calais. Having long had the navy of England under his command, he drew that after him, in his defection from the king.

Whilst this cloud was gathering at home, Edward carried his views abroad, and endeavoured to secure himself against his factious nobility, by entering into foreign alliances. He married his sister Margaret to Charles, duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Bold, which alliance was more relished in England, than one with France would have been; the commercial interests of these two people being more closely united. The events of this period are very differently, and even contradictorily, related by historians. Several insurrections happened in England; but whether occasioned by the intrigues of this discontented earl, or excited by the general

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. iii. p. 230;

discontent of the times, cannot be certainly inferred. However, in the year 1470, we find the earl of Warwick, and duke of Clarence, after having raised a body of troops in England, issuing declarations against the government, and complaining of grievances, oppressions, and bad ministers. But not meeting with the countenance they expected, they were obliged to disband their army, and to fly into Devonshire, where they embarked, and made sail towards Calais. A proclamation was hereupon issued, whereby the king offered a reward of one thousand pounds, or one hundred pounds a year in land, to any one that would seize them*.—Whence it may be inferred, that the value of land, at that time, was ten years purchase.

When the earl and duke arrived at Calais, the deputy-governor refused them admittance. This open insult he qualified, by secretly apologizing to Warwick, and representing his conduct as dictated entirely by zeal for his interest. He alledged, that the fortress was ill supplied with provisions; that he could not depend on the fidelity of the garrison; and still less on that of the inhabitants. On these accounts, being unable to withstand the force which Edward might send out from England, together with that which the duke of Burgundy might contribute to his brother-in-law, he therefore thought it most politic openly to adhere to the cause of the king, and thereby keep it in his power, when circumstances should become more favourable, to restore Calais to its former master†. Whether Warwick thought this conduct of his deputy proceeded from real attachment to him, or from consummate duplicity, is quite unknown; however, he outwardly signified an entire acquiescence in the measure; and, having seized some Flemish

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. xi. p. 654.
63p. 4.

† Phil. Comines, liv. 3.

vessels, which he found lying off Calais, he immediately made sail towards France.

Louis XI. gave the fugitives the kindest reception; and, through the interposition of that monarch, an alliance was formed between the most inveterate and rancorous enemies. We often see motives of interest break the closest friendships; they now, at once, obliterated the most deadly hatred. No animosity was ever greater than that which had long subsisted between the house of Lancaster and the earl of Warwick. His father had been executed by orders from queen Margaret: he himself had twice reduced Henry to captivity; had driven the queen into banishment; and had put to death all the most zealous partizans of that house, either in the field or on the scaffold: but no sooner was king Edward become the common enemy of both, than the hopes of crushing him joined them in a league of amity. It was stipulated between queen Margaret and Warwick, that the latter should espouse the cause of Henry, endeavour to restore him to liberty, and to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government, during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be entrusted conjointly to the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence; that prince Edward should marry the lady Anne, second daughter of the earl; and, on failure of male issue in that prince, the crown should descend to the duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of Edward, and his posterity. Never was confederacy, on all sides, less natural, or more evidently the work of necessity: but Warwick hoped, that all former passions of the Lancastrians, might be lost in present political views; and that, at worst, the independent power of his family, and the affections of the people, would suffice to give him security, and enable him to exact the full performance of all

all the conditions agreed on. The marriage of Edward with the lady Anne was immediately celebrated in France*: so that the earl became equally allied to the houses of York and Lancaster.

Whilst this incongruous concord was adjusting in France, the duke of Burgundy, incensed at Warwick for having taken some of his ships, drew together a powerful fleet, and sailing to the mouth of the Seine, blocked up the earl's navy in the harbour. In September of the year 1471, the French king furnished the new confederates, Warwick, Clarence, and queen Margaret, with great succours, both of men and ships, which enabled them to force their passage through those that opposed them; and, in the same month, they landed on different parts of Devonshire. The prodigious popularity of Warwick, the zeal of the Lancastrian party, the spirit of discontent with which many were infected, and the general instability of the English nation, occasioned by the late frequent revolutions, drew such multitudes to his standard, that, in a very few days his army amounted to sixty thousand men.

It was now become Edward's turn to fly the kingdom; and, escaping the dangers of the enemy, of the sea, and of pirates; each of which, in their turns, threatened him with destruction, he arrived in the port of Alcmaer, in Holland. Warwick, in the mean time, advanced to London; and, once more, the vacant Henry, who had so frequently been made the instrument of other's ambition, was released from prison, and placed on a nominal throne. Warwick was received among the people by the name of *King-maker*: a parliament was called, which reversed all the proceedings during the reign of Edward; and, with the most accommodating spirit, established the rights of Henry.

* Hume, Vol. iii. p. 238.

At the same time Edward the Fourth's queen, whose ambition had caused this revolution, was left in England big with child; and, in the utmost distress, took sanctuary at Westminster, where she was delivered of a son, who was named Edward, and of whom we are presently to speak.

All the exiled Lancastrians now flocked to the newly-erected standard: among the rest the duke of Somerset, son of a duke beheaded after the battle of Hexham. And here it will be proper, for a moment, to stop, and remark the extreme distress to which the most distinguished characters were reduced in these times, when the shaft of adversity seemed particularly levelled at those of exalted rank. This nobleman, whose father had long been considered as the head of the party who had governed the kingdom, during the imbecile reign of Henry VI. had fled into the low countries, on the discomfiture of his friends; and as he concealed his name and quality, he had there languished in extreme indigence. Philip de Commines tells us, that he saw him, as well as the duke of Exeter, following the duke of Burgundy's equipage barefooted, and serving, for their livelihood, as footmen*. High birth, in those times, only subjected the possessor to a pre-eminence in misery. The storm that rends the oak passes over the reed.

Edward, though an exile in Holland, had many partizans at home; and, after an absence of nine months, returned to England, and landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire; the very place that Henry of Lancaster arrived at, when he came to dispossess his kinsman, Richard II. of the throne. On his landing he was received but coolly; he, therefore, found it expedient, to wave all kingly pretensions, and to profess, nay even to make oath, that he

* Liv. 3. chap. 6.

came not to challenge the crown, but only the inheritance of the house of York, which, of right, belonged to him; and that he did not intend to disturb the peace of the kingdom. This pretext furthered his cause as effectually, as a similar one had done that of the duke of Lancaster, about eighty years before*. The people, however wrong they may be in their conclusions, are generally right in their premises: they are fond of assisting the oppressed. Edward having, by the most consummate dissimulation, collected together a number of adherents, advanced towards London, where he was instantly admitted. In possessing this rich and powerful city, he, once more became master of the person of king Henry, whose passive nature ever caused him to be transferred from one keeper to another.

From this time Warwick found his party decline. Clarence, his son-in-law, and Edward's brother, who was a man of a fickle and undetermined mind, was led, more through interest than affection, to go over to the king. The earl, who was ever quick-sighted, perceived his cause becoming desperate, and therefore determined to stake his all upon the event of a battle. His forces were inferior to those of the king; but in skill and conduct, he was himself an army.

With this design he directed his march from St. Albans towards London, which Edward quitted to give battle to his enemy. The two armies met at Barnet, where the prize of empire was to be warmly contended for†. Early in the morning the battle was joined, and a fierce conflict was maintained till noon. The popularity of the two leaders had rendered their adherents prodigal of life, and only intent on slaughter and devastation. The example

* See Page 151.

† 14th April, 1471.

of Warwick inspired his troops with more than common resolution; and victory, for a while, seemed propitious to his exertions; but, in the issue, one fatal mischance entirely reversed the fortune of the day. A part of his army, deceived by the haziness of the weather, and the resemblance of the armour worn, mistook a body of their own forces for that of the enemy, and falling furiously upon them, spread a general consternation. Warwick did all that experience, conduct, or valour could suggest, to retrieve the mistake, but in vain. Abandoning himself, therefore, to despair, he determined to die manfully in the field, rather than to swell the triumph of the conqueror, and glut his revenge. Rushing on foot, as he was, into the midst of his enemies, he fell, covered over with wounds. Thus died the ambitious Warwick, who had made and unmade kings at pleasure. Ten thousand of his army fell on that day; the obdurate Edward having ordered, that no quarter should be given.

At the time that this decisive blow was struck, Margaret and her son Edward, now about eighteen years of age, landed at Weymouth, with a body of French troops. This intrepid princess, who had hitherto firmly withstood all the storms of adversity, was not proof against this unlooked-for shock. Soon after, she and her son were made prisoners, on being defeated at Tewkesbury; when they were brought to the king, who asked the prince, in a haughty tone, how he dared to invade his dominions? The youth, possessing a dignity of spirit which neither captivity, nor a regard to personal safety, could suppress, replied, that he came to England to claim his just inheritance. The conqueror, who was a stranger to that greatness of mind which teaches to commiserate a vanquished foe, struck the prince on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, (the former of whom

whom we have seen married to the sister of Edward's wife) with the lord Hastings and Sir Thomas Gray, taking the blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there dispatched him with their daggers*. To complete the tragedy, Henry himself, who had long been the passive spectator of all these cruelties, was now thought unfit to live: whilst confined in the Tower, it is pretended, and was generally believed, says Mr. Hume, that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands. But, he adds, "the universal odium which that prince had incurred, inclined, perhaps, the nation to aggravate his crimes, without any sufficient authority." It is certain, however, that Henry's death was sudden; and, though he laboured under an ill state of health, this circumstance, joined to the manners of the age, gave a natural ground for suspicion, which was rather increased than diminished, by the exposing of his body to public view. That precaution served only to recall many similar instances in the English history, and to suggest the comparison†. Of all those that were made prisoners, none were suffered to survive but queen Margaret. Doubtless, the king's resentments were as strong against this lady, as against any of the Lancastrian party; but a regard to her sex, more particularly her affinity to the French king, and her being no longer dangerous after the death of her husband and son, mitigated the severity of her destiny. This very distinguished heroine had maintained the cause of her husband for sixteen years; in which time she had fought twelve battles, and had experienced such fluctuations of fortune as history can scarcely parallel.

* Habington, p. 453. Hollingshed, p. 688. Hall, p. 221. † Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. iii. p. 251.

In the mean time the fleet, which had ever been subservient to the earl of Warwick, was now commanded by Thomas Nevil, the bastard of Falconberg, who held it in the name of king Henry; but availed himself of the ascendancy which it gave him to enrich himself, in these times of general commotion. Whilst Edward was, with his army, in Worcestershire, this free-booter formed a design of surprising the city of London; in order to which he entered the Thames, and landed, with seventeen thousand men, with whom he boldly attacked the place: this attack was gallantly withstood by the citizens, who defended themselves with such resolution, that he was forced to retreat with great loss. Soon after, he gave up the fleet, and submitted himself to the king, who knighted him, and made him vice-admiral; which honour, however, he did not long enjoy; for entering into some new intrigues, he was detected, and lost his head*.

The king had no sooner settled his affairs at home, and restored the peace and naval power of England, than he determined on an expedition against France, in revenge for the succour and assistance which the king of that nation had given to his enemies; for which a fair occasion now offered, by the breaking out of a war between Louis XI. and Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. For this purpose he formed an alliance with the emperor Frederic III. and the king of Hungary. It appears from Rymer, that he summoned all English ships, of sixteen tons and upwards, to be ready; as also the artillery, viz. cannon, (named culverins, fowlers, serpentines, &c.) besides bows, arrows, spears, and swords; no hand-guns being as yet invented. Also ammunition, as gunpowder, [pulveres] sulphur,

* Stowe, p. 424.

salt-petre, stones, (for bullets) iron, lead, &c. All which he directed his officers to seize every where for his use, paying ready money for them (as was usual in like cases*.)

Edward passed over to the assistance of his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, with a mighty army, and a fleet of five hundred sail, with which, in the month of July, 1475, he entered the road of Calais, where he disembarked his troops†. The marine strength of England, at this time, plainly appears from hence, and its consequence may be fairly inferred. It is indeed surprizing, that the nation, after having been debilitated by such wasting civil wars, should be in a condition for the king to undertake this important expedition with such a respectable force.

Edward, on his arrival, sent a herald to Louis, to claim the crown of France, and to carry him a defiance, in case of a refusal. The French king, far from replying to this bravado in a haughty style, answered it with great temper, and even made the herald a considerable present‡. He afterwards dispatched a herald to the English camp; and, having given him directions to apply to the lords Stanley and Howard, who, he heard, were friends to peace, he desired the good offices of these noblemen, in promoting an accommodation with the king of England, their master. Edward, by this time, wanted to exchange the din of war for revellings with his mistresses: each monarch entertaining, therefore, pacific dispositions, a treaty was soon entered into, by which a truce, for one hundred years, was agreed upon between the two nations, on terms more advantageous than honourable to Louis. He stipulated to pay Edward, immediately, seventy-five thousand crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from

* Rymer's Fæd. Vol. xi. p. 839.
 Guines, liv. 4. ch. 5.

† Holingshed.

‡ Co-

France; and promised to pay him fifty thousand crowns a year, during their joint lives: for the due payment of which, the directors of the bank of Medici, at Florence, became bound*.—The reason why the treaties, between England and France, were called truces, ever since those provinces, which formerly belonged to England, were conquered by France, was, to prevent the claims of England on France from being started; a truce being nothing more than a cessation of hostilities.

By this treaty it was further stipulated, that the dauphin, when of age, should marry the princess Elizabeth, the king of England's eldest daughter. In order to ratify which, the two kings agreed to have a personal interview; and, for that purpose, suitable preparations were made at Perpignan, near Amiens. Here Edward and Louis conferred privately together; and, having confirmed their friendship, and exchanged many mutual civilities, they soon after parted†. The most honourable part of Louis's treaty with Edward was, the stipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret. For the ransom of this lady, Louis paid fifty thousand crowns: from that time she passed her days in an obscure, unruffled retirement, till the year 1482, when she died. "She seems," says Mr. Hume, "neither to have possessed the virtues, nor to have been subject to the weaknesses of her sex; and was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage, of that barbarous age‡."

The annual subsidy hereby agreed to be paid by France to England, was looked upon, and with reason, as a kind of tribute. Edward, we are told, applied a considerable part of the sums thus raised, to the repair of his navy, for which he always shewed great concern; and, by keeping squadrons

* Rumer's Fæd. Vol. xii. p. 86.

† Comines, liv. 4. chap. 9.

‡ Hist. of England, Vol. iii. p. 58.

continually

continually at sea, held the French in constant terrors; whose king, to secure peace, distributed annually vast sums among the privy-council of England*.

A war with Scotland gave the king an opportunity of displaying his force, by sending a great army, under the command of his brother the duke of Gloucester, into that country, and a powerful fleet to cruise upon its coast; which so terrified the Scotch, that they obliged their prince to accept terms of accommodation.

At this time the king had spread great discontents among his people, by bringing about the death of the duke of Clarence, his brother: the charges brought against him were, his arrainging public justice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature; of uttering many rash expressions, among which were reflections on the king's legitimacy: but he was not accused of any overt-act of treason. The peers pronounced the duke guilty of these charges, and the house of commons were no less slavish and unjust: they both petitioned for his execution, and afterwards passed a bill of attainder against him†. The measures of the parliament during that age, furnish us with examples of a strange contrast of freedom and servility: they scrupled to grant to the king the smallest supplies; the most necessary for the support of government, and to carry on wars, in which the nation, as well as the parliament itself, expressed great zeal: but they never scrupled to concur in the most flagrant acts of injustice or tyranny, which fell on any individual, however distinguished by birth or merit. These maxims, so ungenerous, so opposite to all principles of good government,

* Sir Thomas More's Hist. of Edward V.

† Stowe, p. 430.

so contrary to the practice of present parliaments, are very remarkable in all the transactions of the English history, for more than a century after the period in which we are now engaged *. The duke of Clarence left two children, by the elder daughter of the earl of Warwick; a son, created an earl by his grandfather's title; and a daughter, afterwards countess of Salisbury; each of whom died a violent death; a fate which, for many years, attended almost all the descendants of the royal blood of England.

Edward had likewise crossed the humour of the nation, in refusing succour to the Flemings, who were the natural allies of the English, and from whom they annually gained large sums, by the balance of trade. The national discontent was further increased, by its becoming apparent, that the French king never intended to perform the most essential points of the last peace, particularly that relating to the marriage of the dauphin with the princess-royal. This duplicity of Louis determined Edward to keep no terms with that perfidious monarch: he, therefore, prepared for war; in the prosecution of which he determined to rely chiefly on his strength at sea, and not at all on the promises of his allies; the experience, both of himself and his predecessors strongly attesting the fallacy of such a dependance. The pains king Edward took in disposing all things for a French war, and especially in drawing together a numerous fleet, was so agreeable to his people, that they seemed heartily inclined to bear the expence which such an expedition must occasion. But in the midst of these hostile preparations, the king was seized with a sudden disorder, which, unexpectedly, closed his life, on the 9th of April, 1483, when he had reigned

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. iii. p. 263.

twenty - two years, and lived about forty-two. Mezeray very candidly owns, that the king's death was a great deliverance to France, as it freed her from the terror of beholding again an English army, under a victorious king, at the gates of Paris *.

Edward IV. was a king, more splendid and showy, than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them, after they had taken place, by his vigour and enterprize. Besides five daughters, this king left two sons; Edward, prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard, duke of York, in his ninth †.

We shall now proceed to recapitulate the most material commercial events in this reign.

King Edward IV. calling in question the validity of the powers of the ancient charter granted to the German merchants of the Steel-yard in London, they procured a renewal and confirmation of their charter, by presenting that monarch with a large sum of money. The charter of the society of English merchants trading to the Netherlands was at the same time renewed, retaining its ancient name of *The Society of St. Thomas Becket*, afterwards named *The Merchant-adventurers of England* ‡. The poverty of the prince, most probably, occasioned these grants.

The provinces of the Netherlands, and more especially Flanders and Brabant, were in their meridian glory, when their prince, styled the good duke of Burgundy, deceased, and was succeeded by his son Charles the Bold, who married Margaret, sister to king Edward IV. of England. Sir William

* Abregé de l'Hist. de France, Tom. iii. p. 346.
England, Vol. iii. p. 265.

† Hume's Hist. o
‡ Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 296.

Temple observes, that by the great extent of a populous country and the growth of trade in Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, these two successive dukes found themselves a match for France, then much reduced, as well by the long continued wars with England, as by the factions fomented by its princes. Charles the Bold added to the great dominions which his father left him, the dukedom of Guelders, and the county of Zutphen, in 1473. The Netherlands, at this time, were enriched by their vast manufactures of linen and woollen; for, although the latter had a rival in England, the English having learnt to manufacture the woollen cloth which they consumed, yet other European markets had been found for that commodity, which compensated for the loss of that by which it had formerly subsisted. The ill-directed ambition, and false policy of Charles, however, were very destructive to the country which he governed. By precipitating himself into wars with France and the Switzers, he was obliged to levy heavy taxes, which his successors very improvidently augmented, and thereby reduced a country, which, under a wise and prudent government, might long have remained the most opulent in Christendom: hereby transmitting to other nations, and to future times, a lesson well worthy of regard. The duke of Burgundy's fleet was, at this time, the greatest in Europe, according to Philip de Commines*: whilst England, regardless of her local advantages, after pursuing a most destructive plan of policy, by wasting its best blood and treasure in continental wars, was torn with civil commotions.

Voltaire, in his General History of Europe, describes Antwerp as the great staple of the northern nations: "in Ghent," says he, "there were fifty

* Liv. iii. chap. 5.

thousand artificers employed in the woollen manufacture; Arras was celebrated for its beautiful tapestries."

Two English merchants having, by encouragement from the Spanish duke of Medina Sidonia, fitted out a fleet for a voyage to Guinea, John II. king of Portugal, sent an embassy to Edward IV. to put a stop to that expedition; he claiming, by discovery, and prior possession, the seniory of Guinea: whereupon the enterprize was laid aside*.

The fishing trade of England, for exportation, must have been considerable at this time, as no less than four statutes werẽ enacted in one year, (two of which are now left out of the statute-book) for the well-packing in casks, salmon, herrings, eels, and other barrel fish. These are some of the earliest statutes which regulate this branch of trade. Indeed there are statutes for the preservation of the fry of salmon, lamprys, &c. so far back as king Edward the First's reign, especially in the river Thames and Medway: but those related only to home consumption.

The confusion which attended the civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster, threw an obscurity over that part of our annals, which it is almost impossible to dispel. We have scarce any authentic monuments of the reign of Edward IV. and ought to read his history with much distrust, from the boundless partiality of the succeeding writers to the opposite cause: that diffidence should increase, as we proceed to the protectorship, and reign, of his brother †.

RICHARD, duke of Gloucester, has been generally represented as a monster of cruelty, dissimulation, and perfidy: one on whom no ties, divine

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 296.
Doubts, &c.

† Walpole's Historic

or human, could have any hold. The long catalogue of crimes which are imputed to him, is enough to chill a susceptible heart with horror in the bare recital. But it must be acknowledged, that many of these acts of cruelty admit of great palliation, from the barbarism of the times, and the tendency which a long course of civil dissention has to render mankind familiar with slaughter: many crimes imputed to him have never been clearly brought home to him; and others have been shewn, upon the fullest evidence, not to belong to him at all. Much light has been thrown on the true character of this prince, by Mr. Horace Walpole; notwithstanding which, Mr. Hume, in the last edition of his History of England, prepared for the press a little before his death, has not thought fit to allow his arguments any weight: but it was a fixed principle with that gentleman never to retract an error.

Edward IV. on his death-bed, recommended his brother of Gloucester to be protector of the realm during the minority of his son; but no sooner had death closed the eyes of that monarch, than the queen-mother, who wanted to engross all the power to herself and her relations, wrote to her brother, the earl Rivers, who was with Edward the Fifth at Ludlow, to bring him to London with all speed, and for the protection of his person, to provide a force of two thousand men at arms. From that moment, the interests of Gloucester and the queen's party clashed.

Lord Rivers *, lord Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, on their way to London with the young king, were arrested at Northampton, and sent prisoners to Pomfret castle, whilst the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham conducted the king to his

* He was the most distinguished nobleman of that age, for learning and refinement; and the first who introduced the noble art of printing into England; Caxton being recommended by him to king Edward IV.

capital. The queen, alarmed at this violence, immediately took sanctuary in Westminster, with her son, the duke of York, and her five daughters: which by the interposition of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, she was prevailed upon to leave, and at length to deliver up her infant son to reside with the king his brother. The suspicion of the queen is represented by Mr. Walpole as lighting on lord Hastings; for when Rotheram, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor, endeavoured to comfort her dismay with a friendly message he had received from that nobleman; "a woe worth him!" replies the queen, "for it is he that goes about to destroy me and my blood *!"

Richard is accused of having caused the execution of his rivals, which followed soon after, by false accusations; Mr. Walpole attributes that event to the jealousy which the whole body of ancient nobility entertained, that the queen was usurping more power than the laws had given her. Every step she took contributed something to draw down ruin on the heads of her party, as well as on herself: all her conduct intimated designs of governing by force in the name of her son. If these facts are impartially stated, and grounded on the confession of those who enveigh most bitterly against Richard's memory, it may be allowed, that, at least thus far, he acted as most princes would have done in his situation, and living in a lawless and barbarous age †.

It is not probable, that Gloucester had as yet meditated more than securing the regency; for had he had designs on the crown, he would not have weakened his own claim by assuming the protectorship, by which he acknowledged the title of his nephew. The ambition of the queen and her family, alarmed the princes and the nobility: Glou-

* Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 23.

† Idem, p. 26.

cester,

cester, Buckingham, Hastings, and many more, had checked those attempts. The next step was to secure the regency; but none of these acts could be done whilst any terms were kept with the queen. As soon as the king her son should come of age, she might regain her power, and the means of revenge: self-security prompted the princes and lords to guard against this reverse. The queen's marriage had given universal offence to the nobility, and been the source of all the late disturbances and bloodshed. These calamities were still fresh in every mind, and no doubt contributed to raise Gloucester to the throne, which he could not have attained without almost general concurrence. Thus far, therefore, it must be allowed, that Richard acted no illegal part, nor discovered more ambition than became him. He had defeated the queen's innovations, and secured her accomplices.

The licentious life of Edward IV. who was restrained in his pleasures neither by honour nor prudence, afforded good ground for invalidating his marriage with the queen, and, consequently, illegitimizing his posterity. This proceeding was founded on a pre-contract by the king, with the lady Eleanor Butler, the earl of Shrewsbury's daughter, long before his marriage with Elizabeth Gray; to which transaction Hillington, bishop of Bath, was privy, who afterwards divulged the secret. It was also contended, that the attainder of the duke of Clarence rendered his children incapable of succeeding to the throne: the descendants of these two brothers being set aside, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the house of York. It is said, indeed, that the protector made use of another plea, and maintained, that his brothers, Edward IV. and Clarence, were illegitimate; the duchess of York, their mother, having admitted different lovers to her bed. But the impro-

improbability of such an imputation being thrown out is extremely striking, since by bastardizing his elder brothers, he would have rendered his own legitimacy justly suspected. Besides, this princess was then living; her virtue irreproachable; and a cordial intimacy subsisted between her and her son Richard, as appears from his holding his first council at her house, and other authentic testimonies at this time extant*. Mr. Walpole observes, that Richard's election to the throne, to the exclusion of Edward V. was a voluntary act of the nobility, brought about by their hatred and jealousy of the queen's family; and many of them were led to countenance this revolution, from a conviction of the reality of Edward the Fourth's pre-contract, which led them, at least, to meet the protector's claim half way: the coronation being conducted with the greatest regularity, and the extraordinary concourse of the nobility with which it was graced, having not at all the air of an unwelcome revolution, accomplished merely by violence.

RICHARD III. was proclaimed on the 22d of June, 1483, and crowned upon the 6th of July following; together with Ann his queen, who had been the widow of Edward, son of Henry VI. and

* Among the Harleian MSS. in the Museum, No. 2236, article 6, is the following letter from Richard, to this very princess, his mother, which is an additional proof of the good terms on which they lived. "Madam, I recomaunde me to you as hertely, as is to me possible, beseeching you in my most humble and affectuouse wise of your daly blessing to my singular comfort and defence in my nede; and madam, I hertely beseeche you, that I may often here from you to my comfort; and suche newes as behere my servaunt Thomas Bryan this berer shall shewe you, to whom please it you to geve credence unto. And, madam, I beseeche you to be good and graciouse lady to my lord my chamberlayn to be you officer in Wiltshire in suche as Colinbourne had: I trust he shall therein do you good servyce; and that it plesse you, that by this berer I may understande your pleasur in this behalf. And I praye God sende you th' accomplishment of your noble desires. Written at Pountfreet the thirde day of Juyn, with the hande of your most humble son

"RICARDUS REX."

the daughter and co-heiress of the earl of Warwick. The parliament, which met in the January following, confirmed his title by an act, which is still extant in Speed's Chronicle *, and is one of the best drawn pieces, considering the design it was to cover, that is extant in any language; and, says Mr. Campbell, many of our modern historians might have avoided the gross mistakes they have fallen into concerning this prince, if they had carefully considered it †. In this act, not the least imputation is thrown on the duchess dowager of York; on the contrary, the right of king Edward IV. is clearly acknowledged; but his marriage with queen Elizabeth is declared null, because of the pre-contract before mentioned. The posterity of the duke of Clarence, which likewise stood in Richard's way, are set aside, on account of their father's attainder, which would not have been alledged if Richard had questioned king Edward his brother's rights. The case, in brief, stood thus: the crown of England had been entailed by parliament, on the posterity of Richard, duke of York, in the reign of king Henry VI. This duke left three sons, Edward, George, and Richard; Edward, by virtue of that entail, claimed and enjoyed the crown, but left no lawful issue (as this act says). George, in the lifetime of his brother Edward, had been attainted of treason, whereby his family became incapable of succeeding; and therefore Richard, duke of Gloucester, was called to the throne, as the next heir in the parliamentary entail. The greatest fallacy in these pretexts was, the supposed incapacity of the children of Clarence, in consequence of the duke's attainder; for almost every prince, who had aspired to the crown after Richard II. had been attainted. Richard, duke of York, the father of

* Page 712.

† Lives of the Admirals, Vol. i. p. 274.

Edward IV. and Richard III. was son of Richard, earl of Cambridge, beheaded for treason; yet that duke of York held his father's attainder no bar to his succession. The truth is, that the rule which excludes the heirs of an attainted blood from private successions, was never extended to the crown.

One of the first acts of Richard's reign is said to have been the murder of his two nephews, Edward V. and the duke of York his brother. Sir Thomas More (whose representation of the occurrences of these times has been implicitly followed by most historians) says, that this commission was entrusted to Tyrrel, who being admitted into the Tower, caused the two youths to be smothered in their beds; and yet both Sir Thomas and lord Bacon confess, that many doubted, whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not. On which Mr. Walpole asks, "if they were not destroyed in Richard's days, in whose days were they murdered? Who will tell me," continues he, "that Henry VII. did not find the eldest, at least, prisoner in the Tower? And, if he did, what was there in Henry's nature and character to prevent our surmises going farther? If they were put to death at the time fixed by Sir Thomas More, Richard must have acted from the wantonness of cruelty; for his throne then appeared to be firmly established, and the whole kingdom was quiet." The same judicious investigator has brought to light many incidents of the most essential consequence, in invalidating this imputation against the king*. In the original coronation roll, preserved in the office of the great wardrobe, is this very curious entry: "To lord Edward, son of late king Edward IV. for his apparel and array, &c." which

* See his Historic Doubts, from p. 51 to 74.

recites many rich and magnificent articles of dress: so that no doubt remains, of the deposed young king walking, or it being intended that he should walk, at his uncle's coronation. It appears also, by the roll of parliament already spoken of, that Edward was then alive, though that act passed seven months after the time which Sir Thomas More has assigned for his murder; and it seems more than probable, that it was one of these two brothers that afterwards endeavoured to obtain the crown, and was called Perkin Warbeck. The two skeletons found in the Tower, in the reign of king Charles II. with no marks to ascertain the time of their interment, can surely be no proof of the contrary.

One of the first acts of the king, after his accession, was a renewal of the league of friendship, and intercourse of commerce, with Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Arragon; and with their governors of Guipuscoa, Biscay, and other maritime provinces of Spain. We learn too, from Rymer's *Fædera* *, that the duke of Norfolk obtained from that prince a licence, to import one hundred tons of Wine from France, or elsewhere; and to sell, or otherwise dispose of the same. The first consul that is recorded to have been appointed in Italy, was now settled at Pisa; so that the trade to those parts must have been considerable at that time †.

While Richard was endeavouring to establish his power, he found it undermined on a side from whence he least expected it. The duke of Buckingham, who had been the principal instrument in placing him on the throne, now began to form projects for his destruction. Richard had rewarded this powerful peer with several lucrative posts and grants. The duke of Gloucester, and Henry, earl

* Vol. xii. p. 292.

† Idem, p. 261.

of Derby, afterwards Henry IV. had married the two daughters and co-heiresses of Bohun, earl of Hereford, one of the greatest of the ancient barons, whose immense property came thus to be divided into two shares. One was inherited by the family of Buckingham; the other was united to the crown by the house of Lancaster; and, after the attainder of the royal line, was seized, as legally devolving to them, by the sovereigns of the house of York. The duke of Buckingham obtained a grant of that portion of the Hereford estate, which had escheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of constable, which had long continued, by inheritance, in his ancestors of that family. Historians ascribe the first rupture between the duke and the king, to the latter refusing to restore the Hereford estate, after it had been granted. Perhaps Richard was soon sensible of the dangers which might ensue, from conferring such an immense property on a man of so turbulent a disposition, and afterwards raised difficulties about the execution of his own grant: or he might resolve, according to the usual maxim of politicians, to seize the first opportunity of ruining this powerful subject, who had been the principal instrument of his own elevation*. Very great obligations between friends, on either side, generally end in disgust. Buckingham, for a while, was suspended in his choice, whether he should claim the crown himself, or espouse the interests of another. The latter opinion at length prevailed, and he was resolved to declare for Henry, duke of Richmond, then an exile in Bretagne.

John, the first duke of Somerset, who was grandson of John of Gaunt, by a spurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. iii, p. 283.

daughter,

daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother Edmund had succeeded him in his titles, and in a considerable part of his fortune. Margaret had espoused Edmund, earl of Richmond, half-brother of Henry VI. being son of Sir Owen Tudor, by Catharine of France, reliet of Henry V. She bore him one son, who received the name of Henry; after his father's death he inherited the honours and fortune of Richmond. As he was descended from the elder branch of the house of Somerset, he possessed all the title of that family to the crown. Richmond, after the battle of Tewkesbury, had lived an exile at Bretagne, and was once delivered up to the ambassadors of Edward IV. who were on the point of bringing him back to England, to appease, by his death, the apprehension of the king; but Francis II. then duke of Bretagne, recalled his orders, and thus saved the devoted youth from the danger that hung over him. This remnant of the blood of Lancaster, the duke of Buckingham pitched upon to dethrone Richard; for which purpose a negotiation was set on foot between them.

The king did not long remain ignorant of a conspiracy being formed against him, and suspected Buckingham to be among the number of the conspirators. To satisfy himself on this head, he summoned him to court; and, on the duke refusing to repair thither, his suspicions grew into certainty: soon after, the duke openly appeared in arms, having drawn together some Welsh forces, with which he marched towards the west, where it had been agreed young Richmond should land. As the duke was advancing, by hasty marches towards Gloucester, where he designed to pass the Severn, at that very time * there happened to fall

* October 1483.

such heavy rains, so incessant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, were swollen to such a height, as rendered them impassable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his associates. The Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, abandoned their leader, who finding himself deserted, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of one Banister, an old servant of his family: but being betrayed by his host, he was taken, and brought to the king at Salisbury, where he was instantly executed, according to the summary method practised in that age.

The duke of Bretagne, in the mean time, enduced to espouse the cause of Richmond, by his prime minister, and favourite, Peter Landois, furnished him with a fleet of fifteen sail, on board of which were embarked about five thousand men*. But this fleet being at first driven back by a storm, did not arrive on the coast of England till after the death of Buckingham, and the dispersion of all his friends: Richmond was, therefore, compelled to return to the court of Bretagne.

When he arrived there, he found the political views of the court altered. The total suppression of the spirit of revolt in England, made Francis II. and his minister Landois, extremely disinclined to assist the earl of Richmond in any farther attempts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of Richard. They even entered into treaty with the king of England, to deliver this rival into his hands; which being known to Morton, bishop of Ely, a firm friend to the house of

* Daniel Hist. de France, Tom. vi. p. 600.

Lancaster, and then an exile in Flanders, he gave Richmond notice of his danger; who thereupon fled into France, narrowly escaping a troop of horse that were sent out to stop him. The ministers of Charles VIII. who had now succeeded to the throne on the death of Louis XI. gave the fugitive countenance and protection; and being desirous of raising disturbance to Richard, they secretly encouraged the earl in his levies for undertaking another enterprise against England.

On the 1st day of August, 1485, the earl of Richmond set sail from Harfleur, with a small army of about 2000 men, and landed at Milford-Haven on the 8th of the same month. He was quickly joined by great bodies of the Welsh, and passing the Severn at Shrewsbury, was reinforced by many English. He directed his march to Leicestershire, where Richard commanded the royal army in person. The two armies soon met at Bosworth-field, to determine a dispute that had now, for more than thirty years, made England a field of blood.

On the 22d of August the two armies joined battle; that of Richard consisted of about thirteen thousand men, and that of Richmond hardly amounted to six thousand. The van-guard of the royal army was led by the duke of Norfolk; the king led the main body himself, with the crown on his head; either designing, by this, to inspire the enemy with awe, or to render himself conspicuous to his own army. The earl of Oxford commanded the first line of Richmond's army, and himself headed the main body. Lord Stanley, who adhered to the cause of the king, but not without his loyalty being suspected, headed a large body of men, with which he posted himself at Athlstone, between the two armies; which rendered it equally convenient to him to join either. Richard had too much sagacity, not to discover his intentions from these movements;

movements ; but declined taking vengeance on Stanley's son, whom he had in his power, and whom some of his courtiers advised to be immediately put to death ; because, he hoped, that so valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong, still further, his ambiguous conduct ; and he hastened to decide, by arms, the quarrel with his competitor ; being certain, that a victory over the earl of Richmond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, both open and concealed. The two armies approaching each other, the battle began with a shower of arrows ; and soon the two ranks were engaged, sword in hand. Lord Stanley, who had waited for this event, immediately went over to the side of Richmond, and thereby turned the fortune of the day. Richard spurred on his horse into the thickest of the fight ; and Richmond, quitting his station in the rear, advanced to the front, to animate his troops by his presence and example. Richard no sooner perceived him, than, desirous of deciding the contest at once, he rushed forwards with the fury of a lion, dealing destruction to all that opposed him. He slew Sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, who had attempted to stop his career : Sir John Cheney having taken Brandon's place, was thrown to the ground. Richmond stood firmly prepared to receive his adversary ; but numbers rushing in, the two chiefs were separated. The king, at length, perceiving his army every where yielding or flying, determined not to survive the wreck of his fortunes ; he rushed, with a loud shout, into the midst of the enemy, and there met the death he sought.

Thus fell the last prince of the house of York, who, if we credit the historians that have written under the influence of the house of Tudor, was the most abandoned tyrant that ever waded through

slaughter to a throne. If he had been a prince unstained with blood, he would have been the only one of the two houses, who lived to a mature age, exempt from that defilement: his enemies allow, however, that his judgment was sound and penetrating, and his courage undaunted. To heighten that detestation of this prince, which they want to raise, writers describe him as a little crooked, withered, hump-backed monster, who remained two years in his mother's womb, and, at last, was born with teeth, and hair on his shoulders; to intimate how careful Providence was, when it formed a tyrant, to give due warning of what was to be expected. "Yet these portents," says Mr. Walpole, "were far from prognosticating a tyrant; for this plain reason, that all other tyrants have been born without these prognostics. Does it require," he asks, "more time to ripen a fœtus, that is to prove a destroyer, than it takes to form an Aristides? Are there outward and visible signs of a bloody nature? Who was handsomer than Alexander, Augustus, or Louis XIV? and yet who ever commanded the spilling of more human blood?"* The truth seems to be, that Richard, who was slender, and not tall, had the right shoulder a little higher than the left; a defect easily swelled by the magnifying glass of party, the distance of time, and the amplification of tradition, into shocking deformity. Philip de Commines, who was very free-spoken, even to his own masters, and therefore not likely to spare a foreigner, mentions the beauty of Edward IV. but says nothing of the deformity of Richard, though he saw them together; and farther, the old countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard, declared, he was the handsomest man in the room except his brother Edward,

* Historic Doubts, p. 109.

and was very well made; and John Rous, the antiquary of Warwickshire, who saw Richard at Warwick, describing his person, mentions no other defect than the inequality of his shoulders: and, indeed, the vigour and activity with which he exerted himself in battle, are an evident proof of his being possessed of that bodily strength, which is never enjoyed by persons much deformed.

Richard was thirty-two years of age when he died; and had reigned two years and two months. His crown was found on the field of battle, and immediately placed on the head of the conqueror; the whole army crying out, long live king Henry. His death terminated the race of the Plantagenet kings, after they had been in possession of the crown three hundred and thirty-one years. Thus ended also the contest between the two roses, which had not only depopulated the country, but had introduced a savage cruelty of manners. England, during this wretched period, presented a wide scene of slaughter and desolation.

In these long contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster, the commons of England remained spectators of disorders, which, in those times, it was not in their power to prevent: they successively acknowledged the title of the victorious parties; but, under Henry IV. as well as Richard III. and under Henry VII. who terminated these quarrels, the commons continually availed themselves of the important services which they were able to perform to the reigning sovereign, by obtaining essential advantages for the whole body of the people. Still, however, that system of legislation, which the various conflicting interests of the several parts of the state, in after times, served to adjust and establish, had received only its first rude outline. The attributes of liberty were neither rightly defined, nor clearly understood;

understood; and the world might have grown old, generations might have succeeded generations, still seeking them in vain. It has been by a fortunate conjunction of circumstances, and it should be added, by the assistance of a favourable situation, that liberty has, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, been able to erect herself a temple.

Invoked by every nation, but of too delicate a nature, as it should seem, to subsist in societies formed of such imperfect beings as mankind, she shewed, and but just shewed, herself, to the ingenious nations of antiquity that inhabited the south of Europe. They were constantly mistaken in the form of the worship they paid to her. As they continually aimed at extending dominion and conquest over other nations, they were no less mistaken in the spirit of that worship; and though they continued, for ages, to pay their devotions to her, she still remained, with regard to them, the unknown goddess.

Excluded, since that time, from those places to which she had seemed to give a preference, driven to the extremity of the western world, banished even out of the continent, she has taken refuge in the British Isles. It is there, that, freed from the danger of external disturbance, and assisted by a happy prearrangement of things, she has been able fully to display the form that suited her; and she has found six centuries to have been necessary to the completion of her work.

Being sheltered, as it were, within a citadel, she there reigns over a nation which is the better entitled to her favours, as it endeavours to extend her empire, and carries with it, to every part of its dominions, the blessings of industry and equality. Fenced in on every side, with a wide and deep ditch, the sea; guarded with strong outworks, its ships of war; and defended by the courage of its seamen, it preserves

preserves that important secret, that sacred fire, which is so difficult to be kindled; and which, if it were once extinguished, would perhaps never be lighted again. When the world shall have again been laid waste by conquerors, it will still continue to shew mankind, not only the principle that ought to unite them, but what is of no less importance, the form under which they ought to be united. And the philosopher, when he reflects on what is constantly the fate of civil societies amongst men, and observes, with concern, the numerous and powerful causes which seem, as it were, unavoidably to conduct them all to a state of incurable political slavery, takes comfort in seeing that liberty has, at at last, disclosed her secret to mankind, and secured an asylum to herself.



T H E
N A V A L H I S T O R Y
O F
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

B O O K I I.

The Naval History of ENGLAND, under the House of TUDOR. From the Accession of HENRY VII. to the Death of Queen ELIZABETH: Containing the Space of One Hundred and Eighteen Years.

C H A P. I,

The Reign of Henry VII. Naval Affairs—State of Trade and Commerce—Henry's Marriage with the Princess Elizabeth—Imposture of Lambert Simnel—Preparations against France—Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus—Perkin Warbeck personates Richard Duke of York—Reasons for supposing him to have been really that young Prince—John Cabot sails from Bristol on Discoveries—Commercial Treaty with Spain—Death of Henry VII.—Passage to the East-Indies by the Cape of Good-Hope.

BY what claim Henry VII. possessed himself of the regal dignity, is very problematical. In his own days he would not suffer it to be drawn into question, and posterity has paid but little

little regard to that point. His pretensions, if founded on descent, were extremely equivocal, as he could scarce be said to be of the royal family; for his father was of Wales, his mother of the house of Beaufort, descended indeed of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; but so as to be legitimate only by an act of parliament, with an express exception, at the same time, as to the crown. The plea of conquest he could not urge, for his army was composed of Englishmen; his best title, the voice of the people excepted, seems to have been by marriage, and this he was not invested with for some months after. This marriage, which he had solemnly promised to celebrate, he purposely protracted, knowing that if he received the crown merely in right of his consort, his power would be very limited, and he must expect to enjoy the bare title of king, by a sort of courtesy, rather than possess the real authority which belonged to it. Should the princess die before him without issue, he must descend from the throne, and give place to the next in succession; and even, if his queen should bring him children, those very children were liable to possess themselves of regal power, to the exclusion of their father. It is true, an act of parliament might easily be procured, to settle on him the crown during life: but Henry knew how much superior the claim of succession by blood was, to the authority of an assembly, which had always been overborn by violence, in the shock of contending titles; and which had ever been more governed by the conjunctures of the times, than by any consideration derived from reason or public interest. But, in the midst of these unsatisfactory pretensions, Henry was sensible that there remained another foundation of power, somewhat resembling the right of conquest, namely, present possession; and that this title, guarded by vigilance and abilities,

ties, would be sufficient to secure perpetual possession of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry IV. who, supported by no better pretension, had subdued many insurrections, and had been able to transmit the crown peaceably to his posterity. He could perceive that this claim, which had been made through three generations of the family of Lancaster, might still have subsisted, notwithstanding the preferable title of the house of York, had not the sceptre devolved into a hand too feeble to sustain it, in the person of Henry VI. Instructed by this recent experience, the earl of Richmond was determined to put himself in possession of regal authority; and to show, all opponents, that nothing but force of arms, and a successful war, should be able to expel him. His claim, as heir to the house of Lancaster, he was resolved to advance, and never allow to be discussed; and he hoped that this right, favoured by the partizans of that family, and seconded by present power, would secure him a perpetual, and an independent, authority*.

Henry VII. was a prince admirably suited to the times in which he lived: though possessing none of those qualities of the heart which engage the love of mankind, yet, by an indefatigable assiduity to business, and an unremitting attention to his own interest, he gradually weakened that spirit of tumult and revolt which prevailed throughout the nation. By a steady adherence to principles of sound policy, he humbled an insolent and factious nobility; and increased the power and consequence of the people, because they were the best support of his throne. Science now began to dawn, after the world had been involved in a long night of ignorance. The art of printing was now introduced; and the

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. iii. p. 310.

peaceful arts found admirers among a people, who, till then, had relished nothing but feats of arms. The history of England hitherto, is little else than a relation of the transactions of a barbarous nation, obeying with reluctance, and governed by caprice: from this period, a more refined system of politics was adopted; human wisdom, as if roused from her lethargy of thirteen hundred years, began to practice every art to tame the natural ferocity of the people, and to introduce happiness*.

The parliament, soon after the coronation of the king, proceeded, very obsequiously, to grant whatever he required. It settled the entail of the crown upon the heirs of Henry's body, without making any provision, if there was a failure of such; neither was the least mention made therein, of the princess Elizabeth. In a few months after, the king married this heiress of the house of York, but deferred her coronation for two years; purposely to obliterate the idea, which the nation was fond of entertaining, that he derived his right to the crown, by his alliance with that princess. These proceedings were dictated by the harshness and severity of Henry's temper, but gave general disgust. Immediately after his marriage an insurrection broke out, at the head of which were Sir Humphrey Stafford, and Sir Thomas his brother, who were joined by lord Lovel; but this was presently quelled. In a few months, however, another broke out, which carried a more formidable aspect. The king, at that time, kept confined, in the Tower, a son of the duke of Clarence who had been put to death by the instigation of his brother Edward IV. This unfortunate youth, a grandson of the famous earl of Warwick, had never received, from his childhood, any useful instruction; and, being shut out

* Goldsmith.

from all intercourse with the world, his mind was a perfect blank, on which no traces of learning, or knowledge, had been drawn: he was, however, the favourite of the people, and had been created earl of Warwick by Edward IV. An adventurous priest determined to make the name of this boy an instrument to impose upon the people, and to shake the throne of Henry: for this purpose he trained up one Lambert Simnel, a baker's boy, to counterfeit the person of this earl; and instructed him to talk upon some facts, and occurrences, which related to the court of king Edward IV. When he had trained him to his purpose, he set out for Ireland, judging that kingdom the properest theatre to open the scene. The plot unfolded to his wish; Simnel was received, and proclaimed king, and treated suitably to the birth and distinction to which he laid claim. To prevent the cause of this impostor from finding adherents in England, young Warwick was brought from his confinement in the Tower, and publicly exhibited to the people. Simnel, however, now become a king in Dublin, resolved to prosecute his title in England; for which purpose he landed in Lancashire, and proceeded from thence to York. He found the people, every where, disinclined to his cause; and the king, soon after, coming against him in person, his army was routed, and himself made prisoner. Henry, scorning to exercise severity on so contemptible an enemy, pardoned the impostor, and assigned him a mean employment in his kitchen: the priest too, who had instigated this mischief, as an ecclesiastic, could not be put to death by the civil power; he was, therefore, condemned to imprisonment for life*.

* An. Dom. 1487. Bacon's Life of Henry VII. Pol. Vergil.

Henry was not at all inclined to undertake continental conquests; but to promote his own views, at the same time that he gratified the nation in its favourite object, he declared his resolution of undertaking the conquest of France. Having drawn considerable aids from parliament for that purpose, he crossed the sea, and arrived at Calais, with a large army, and a powerful fleet. But, in a few months, a treaty was concluded, by which Charles VIII. of France, engaged to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns, near four hundred thousand pounds sterling, of our present money; partly as a reimbursement of the expences incurred by the army and navy, and partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. He likewise stipulated to pay Henry, and his heirs, twenty-five thousand crowns a year. Thus, says lord Bacon, the king made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace*.

It was the policy of Henry to divert the spirit of his subjects from war to trade, which his long residence in Bretagne had shewn him the benefits of, and given him an insight into. At this time Christopher Columbus, a man of obscure birth†, whose knowledge of astronomy and navigation was far superior to that of his contemporaries, was led, by a secret impulse, to imagine, that another continent certainly existed, and that he was the person destined to discover it. The idea of antipodes, which superstition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reason itself had treated as chimerical, appeared, to this penetrating genius, to have its foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the greatest that ever entered into the human mind, took strong possession of his imagination; and having, in vain, proposed the acquisition of a new hemi-

* Page 605.

† Abbé Raynal Hist. Politiq.

sphere to his native country, Genoa, and to Portugal, where he then resided, he sent his brother Bartholomew into England, to propose this stupendous enterprize to Henry VII. whilst he himself passed over into Spain, to sound the disposition of that court, upon the same business*.

Bartholomew Columbus, in his voyage from Lisbon to England, was taken by pirates, who, for some time, retained him in their service, making him undergo the most cruel hardships. From these he found means to escape, but destitute of the common necessities of life. Arriving in England, he proceeded to London; but in so poor a condition, and his health so much impaired, that he wanted both opportunity and spirit to prosecute the business of his voyage. To subsist himself, in a strange country, he sat about constructing maps and globes; and, in this employment, discovering very uncommon skill in cosmography, he recommended himself to the few scientific men which that age produced. When he had been three years in England, he had become so celebrated for his abilities, that he found means to be introduced to the king†; to whom he presented a map of the world, of his own projecting; and afterwards entered into a negociation in behalf of his brother. Henry is said to have relished the scheme, and to have actually agreed about attempting the discovery, before Christopher Columbus had brought things to bear in Spain; but Bartholomew, meeting with

* The time of Columbus's birth may be nearly ascertained, by the following circumstances: it appears, from the fragment of a letter, addressed by him to Ferdinand and Isabella, An. Dom. 1501; that he had, at that time, been engaged forty years in a seafaring life. In another letter he informs them, that he went to sea at the age of fourteen: from these facts it follows, that he was born An. Dom. 1447.

Life of Christopher Columbus, by his son Don Ferdinand, printed in Chruchill's Collection of Voyages, Vol. II. p. 484, 485.

† An. Dom. 1488.

fresh impediments in his return to his brother, was prevented from carrying him an account of his success, before he was actually sailing, under the patronage of the crown of Spain, upon this important enterprize.—Such was the narrow escape, which this country had of being ruined, by the mines of Potosi! We have this account of Bartholomew Columbus, from the son of Christopher, who wrote a life of his father, which he published in Spain, and which is preserved in Churchill's Collection of Voyages.

“The Spaniards,” says the president Montesquieu, “after the conquest of Mexico and Peru, abandoned their natural riches, in pursuit of a representative wealth, which daily degraded itself. Before this discovery, gold and silver were extremely scarce in Europe, and Spain becoming, all of a sudden, mistress of a prodigious quantity of these metals, conceived hopes to which she had never before aspired. The wealth, she found possessed by the inhabitants of the conquered countries, great as it was, did not, however, equal that of the mines there. The Indians concealed part of it; and, as these people made no other use of gold and silver, than to give magnificence to the temples of their gods, and to the palaces of their kings, they sought not for it with an European avarice. In short, they had not the secret of drawing these metals from every mine, but only from those where the separation might be made with fire: they were strangers to the manner of making use of mercury, and perhaps to mercury itself. However, it was not long before the specie of Europe was doubled: this appeared from the price of commodities, which every where was doubled. The Spaniards raked into the mines, scooped out mountains, invented machines to draw out water, to break the ore, and separate it; and as they sported with the lives of
the

the Indians, they forced them to labour without mercy. In proportion, as the specie of Europe increased, the profit of Spain diminished: they had every year a quantity of metal, which gradually became less precious*."

When we contemplate the new world, which, by the skill and indefatigable labours of this great man, was thus revealed to the inhabitants of Europe, the first circumstance that strikes us is, its immense extent. It was not a small portion of the earth, so inconsiderable, that it might have escaped the observation or research of former ages, which Columbus discovered: he made known a new hemisphere, of greater extent than either Europe, Asia, or Africa, the three noted divisions of the ancient continent; and not much inferior, in dimensions, to a third part of the habitable globe†. But to resume the history of Henry VII.

No sooner had the king returned from his expedition against France, than another civil commotion was excited. The old duchess of Burgundy, sister to Edward IV. was ever ready to promote any attempts which had a tendency to shake the throne of Henry, whose marriage with her niece had not lessened her resentment, any more than the issue which was now had by that marriage. This princess first spread a report, that the young duke of York, said to have been murdered in the tower, was still alive; and soon a youth made his appearance, that took upon him the title of Richard, duke of York.

In England, not only the populace, but men of the highest birth and quality, began to turn their eyes towards this new claimant; and some of them entered into a secret conspiracy in his favour. Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites, favoured duke Richard's title: but

* *L'Esprit des Loix*, liv. XXI. chap. 22.
of America, Vol. I. p. 243.

† Robertson's Hist.

none engaged openly in his support but Sir Robert Clifford, and Sir William Barley, who went over to Flanders, and were introduced by the duchess of Burgundy to the acquaintance of the young prince, to whom they made a tender of their services. Clifford wrote back to England, that he knew the person of the young duke of York, as well as he knew his own, and that the young man was undoubtedly Richard, duke of York.

Such positive intelligence, from a person of rank and character, was sufficient to put the affair beyond all doubt, and excited the wonder and attention of the most indifferent. The whole nation was held in suspense; a regular conspiracy was formed against the king, and a correspondence established between the male-contents in England, and those in Flanders.

Henry was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he proceeded in counter-working the projects of his enemies. He now first published the account of the murder of the two princes in the Tower, assigning a time for it, when it was natural for him to hope that the people would think it likely to have happened. Indeed, as Mr. Walpole observes, it is remarkable, that no enquiry had been made into the murder on Henry the Seventh's accession, the natural time for it, when the passions of men were heated, and the duke of Norfolk, lord Lovell, Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Richard's real abettors, or accomplices, were attainted and executed; neither was any mention made, in the act of parliament that attainted Richard himself, and no prosecution of the supposed assassins was set on foot till now; nor did Henry ever interest himself to prove that both were dead, till he had great reason to believe that one of them was alive. It was said, that there were but four persons who could speak, from knowledge, of these murders. Sir

James

James Tirrell, Dighton, and Forest, with the priest of the Tower, who removed their bodies from under the stairs, where they had been buried, to a place unknown. The two last were dead, and the two first being examined, are said to have avowed the fact; though Dighton, one of the assassins, was suffered to go unpunished wherever he pleased; and Sir James Tirrell, who had enjoyed Henry's favour, was suffered to live, but was shut up in the Tower. Upon which Mr. Walpole asks, "What can we believe, but that Dighton was some low, mercenary wretch, hired to assume the guilt of a crime he had not committed; and that Sir James Tirrell never would confess what he had not done, and was therefore put out of the way on a fictitious imputation?"

Whilst the friends of the house of York were thus combining against the king, he himself was no less intent on preventing the impending danger. He not only endeavoured to convince the people that the duke of York was really dead, but caused the history of this claimant to be published, whom he pretended to have traced to his original meanness; describing him as the son of a Jew, and whose real name was Perkin Warbeck.

At the same time this youth made an attempt to land in Kent, but being beat off by the inhabitants, he proceeded to Ireland: finding his hopes frustrated there also, he went next to try his success in Scotland. Here his fortune began to mend: James III. who was then king of that country, received him very favourably, acknowledged his pretensions to be just, and soon after gave him in marriage a daughter of the earl of Huntley, one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies of her time. Nor did he stop at these instances of favour, but resolved upon assisting him in his attempts to mount the throne of England. It was expected, that upon Warbeck's
first

first appearance in that kingdom, all the friends of the house of York would rise in his favour: on this presumption the king of Scotland entered the country with a strong army, and proclaimed the young adventurer king: but, contrary to his expectations, the people were disinclined to resort to his standard; so that he was obliged to retire back to Edinburgh. Soon after, a treaty of peace was concluded between Henry VI. and James III. by which it was stipulated, that the latter should renounce the interests of Warbeck; on which he was obliged to quit Scotland, and seek another asylum.

Warbeck had now, for the space of five years, continued to alarm Henry. He had been acknowledged in France and Flanders; partially in Ireland, and more generally in Scotland, as the legal inheritor of the English crown; but being now forced to retire from the latter country, he secreted himself in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland; soon, however, a circumstance occurred, which proved favourable for bringing him again forward into action.

Under pretence of raising an army to oppose the inroads of the king of Scotland, Henry had procured from his parliament a subsidy of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds: when this money came to be levied upon the people, the inhabitants of Cornwall, numerous, poor, robust, and courageous, loudly complained at contributing to repel an enemy, from whom, by their remote situation, they had nothing to fear. Every insurrection now was followed by a project for dethroning the king: they therefore marched with one Flammoek, a lawyer, Bodeley, a carrier, and lord Audley at their head, directly to London, and encamped upon Blackheath. There the king's forces surrounded.

and attacked them*. The battle was bloody; two thousand were killed on the spot, and almost all the rest of the insurgents were made prisoners. The three ringleaders of this insurrection were executed, but the other prisoners were dismissed without punishment. The mutinous disposition, in the western counties, was not extinguished by this defeat. It was now determined, by the malecontents, to send for Perkin Warbeck from Ireland, to be their leader. Arriving soon after, he found himself at the head of a body of three thousand men: on which he published a proclamation against Henry, and assumed the title of Richard IV. He then attempted to take the city of Exeter by storm, but was repulsed. Hearing of the king's approach towards that city, he desisted from his designs against it, and retired. It was then that his firmness forsook him; and, abandoning the enterprize, he took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu, in the New-Forest. Soon after, upon promise of a pardon, he surrendered himself to the king, and was confined in the Tower; but, escaping from thence, and finding it impracticable to get out of the kingdom, he again took sanctuary at Shyne: the prior of that monastery gave him up to the king, upon condition of a pardon, and Warbeck was, a second time, committed a prisoner to the Tower; but, still restless and enterprizing, he engaged the earl of Warwick, his fellow-prisoner, to enter into a project for their escape, by the murder of the lieutenant of the Tower. The vigilance of the king soon discovered this conspiracy: it was even very generally believed, that the scheme had been laid by himself, in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into

* An. Dom. 1497.

the snare: but this suspicion was founded, indeed, more on the general idea entertained of the king's character, than on any positive proof*. Perkin, for this offence, was arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn; whilst the inoffensive earl of Warwick was brought to a trial, and accused of forming designs against the government, for which he was condemned and executed †.

These internal commotions, however, did not prevent the king directing his attention to the discovery of unknown countries, which views had been first excited by the lights that had been thrown upon the subject by Bartholomew Columbus. A Venetian, named John Cabot, who resided at Bristol, an experienced seaman, encouraged by the success of Columbus, in discovering the island of Hispaniola, addressed himself to the king, with proposals for attempting like discoveries. His offer was readily accepted; and, in the year 1496, the king granted him letters-patent, by the name of John Cabot, citizen of Venice; and to his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, authorizing them to discover unknown lands, and to conquer and settle them; with many privileges, and under this single restriction, that the ships they fitted out should be obliged to return to the port of Bristol ‡. In consequence of this licence, the king caused a ship to be fitted out at Bristol; to which were added, three or four small vessels, freighted with proper commodities; which fleet sailed in the spring of the year 1497.

The principal object with Cabot was, to find a north-west passage to the East-Indies: so that he appears to have reasoned in the same manner that Columbus did, who imagined, that as the Portuguese, by sailing east, came to the western coast

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 382. † An. Dom. 1499.

‡ Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XII. p. 595. Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 4.

of the Indies; so he, by sailing west, might reach its opposite shore.

John Cabot, having with him his son Sebastian, prosecuted a north-west course till the 24th of June, when, about five in the morning, they first discovered land; which Cabot, on that account, called *Prima Vista*, or First Seen. Another island, less than the first, he styled the Island of St. John, because it was seen on the feast of St. John Baptist. He afterwards sailed down to Cape Florida, and the Labradore coast, and then returned to England, bringing with him three of the natives, since known by the name of Eskimeaux Indians, but without making any settlement there. This was a very important discovery, since, in truth, it was the first time the continent of America had been seen; Columbus being unacquainted therewith till his last voyage, which was made the year after, when he coasted along a part of the isthmus of Darien. Fabian, in his Chronicle *, speaks expressly of this expedition, and of the natives that were brought to England, specifying the time when the discovery was made, and by John Cabot, a Venetian. Notwithstanding, other writers, among which are Speed and Stowe, ascribe this discovery wholly to Sebastian the son. But a clear and decisive testimony, in favour of John Cabot, is, that Sebastian, who was alive in 1555, could not, at the time of this voyage, have been above twenty years old; and it cannot be supposed, that so arduous an enterprize should be entrusted to one so young.

Four years after this voyage had been performed, Henry granted his letters-patent to Hugh Elliot, and Thomas Alhurst, merchants of Bristol, and others, for settling colonies in new-discovered countries, which grant bears date the 9th of December, 1502 †.

* Page 744.

† Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIII. p. 37.

It was presumed, from the several voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from these new territories, that they were fit for nothing but to carry on the fishery of cod, which abounds in that sea. Accordingly, small vessels used to be sent out in the spring, which returned again in autumn, with their freight of fish, both salted and fresh. The consumption of this article became almost universal; at length an idea was formed of making settlements there. Those that were first established, were at considerable distances of time from each other, and were so unsuccessful, as to be forsaken soon after they were formed. It was not till the year 1608, that any permanent settlement was made: this grew into importance, and raised such a spirit of emulation, that within forty years, all the space that extends along the eastern coast, between Conception-Bay and Cape Ras, on the island of Newfoundland, was peopled by a colony, amounting to above 4000 souls. Those who were concerned in the fishery being forced, both from the nature of their employment, and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each other, opened paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where is an excellent harbour formed between two mountains, at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ships. Private traders, from the mother country, supplied these colonists with every necessary, in exchange for the produce of their fishery*. Thus did Henry VII. lay the first foundation of these colonies, which, in process of time, raised England to an unparalleled pre-eminence, by promoting industry, manufactures, shipping, and population. Hakluyt asserts, that not only the

* Abbé Raynal Hist. Polit. liv. xvii.

principal Spanish writers. and the learned Venetian John Baptista Ramusio, but also the French geographers, agree in acknowledging that all the mighty track of land from sixty-seven degrees northward, to the latitude of Florida, was first discovered by England*.

About this time an act of parliament passed to regulate the fine taken by the company of Merchant-adventurers of England: the first institution of which community was under the title of fraternity of Saint Thomas Becket. This body of men had demanded, in more early times, six shillings and eight-pence of every private merchant, trading in foreign parts; but, in a course of years, this fine was increased to the sum of forty pounds sterling; but by the above-named statute, this company were restrained from demanding more than six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. It appears also by this act †, that the English merchants, at that time, carried on trade with Ireland, Normandy, France, Seville, Dantzick, Eastland, Friesland, Spain, Portugal, Bretagne, and Venice; as well as to Flanders, Holland, Zealand, and Brabant.

In the year 1501, Henry effected a marriage between his son Arthur, prince of Wales, and the infanta Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile: the prince was then sixteen years of age, the princess eighteen. A few months after the celebration of this marriage, the prince sickened and died. The king, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catharine's dowry, which was two hundred thousand ducats, obliged his second son Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. The prince made all the opposition which a youth of twelve years of age,

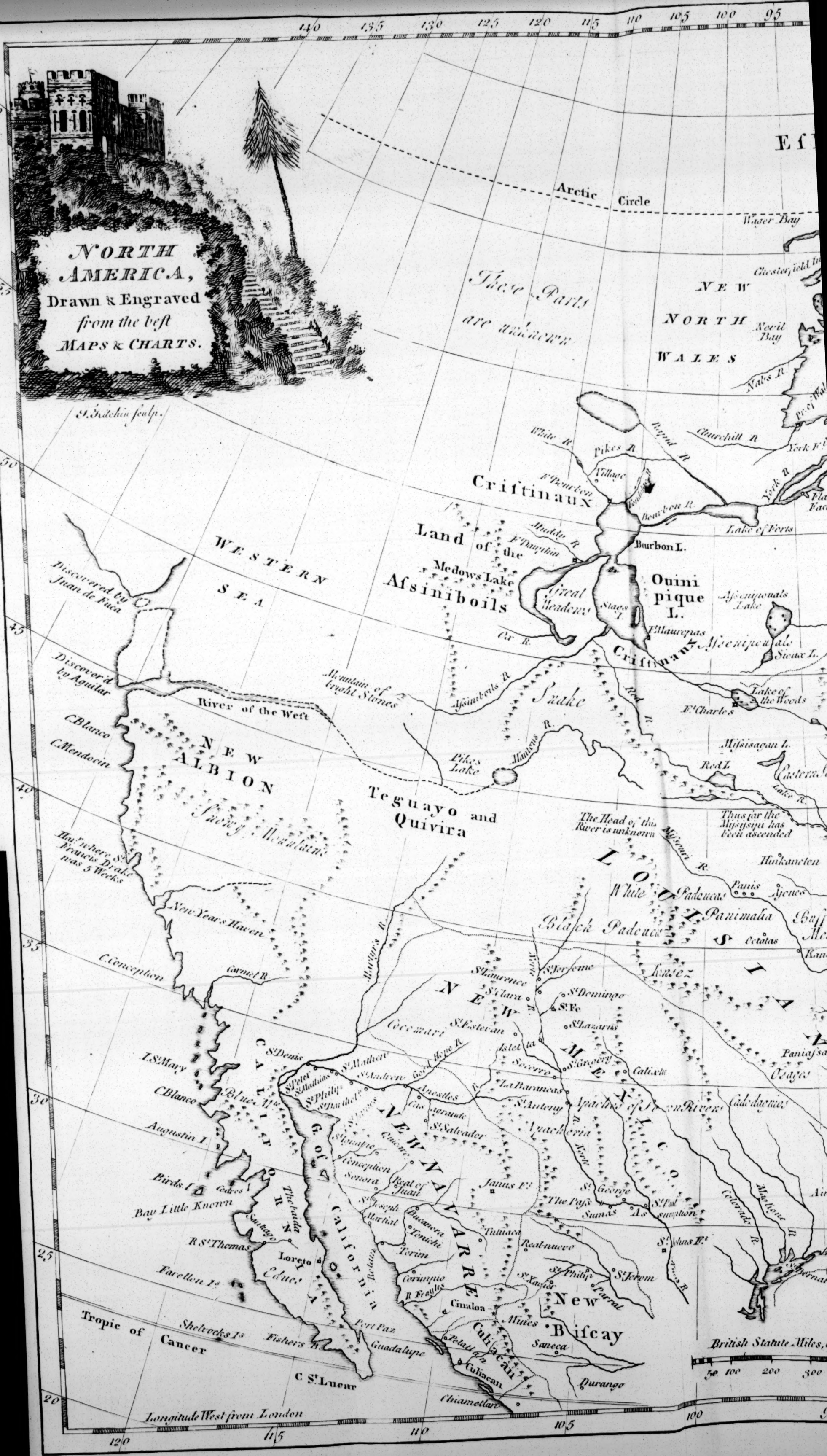
* Hakluyt's dedication of the second volume of his *Voyages* to Sir Robert Cecil.

† 12th Henry VII. chap. 6.



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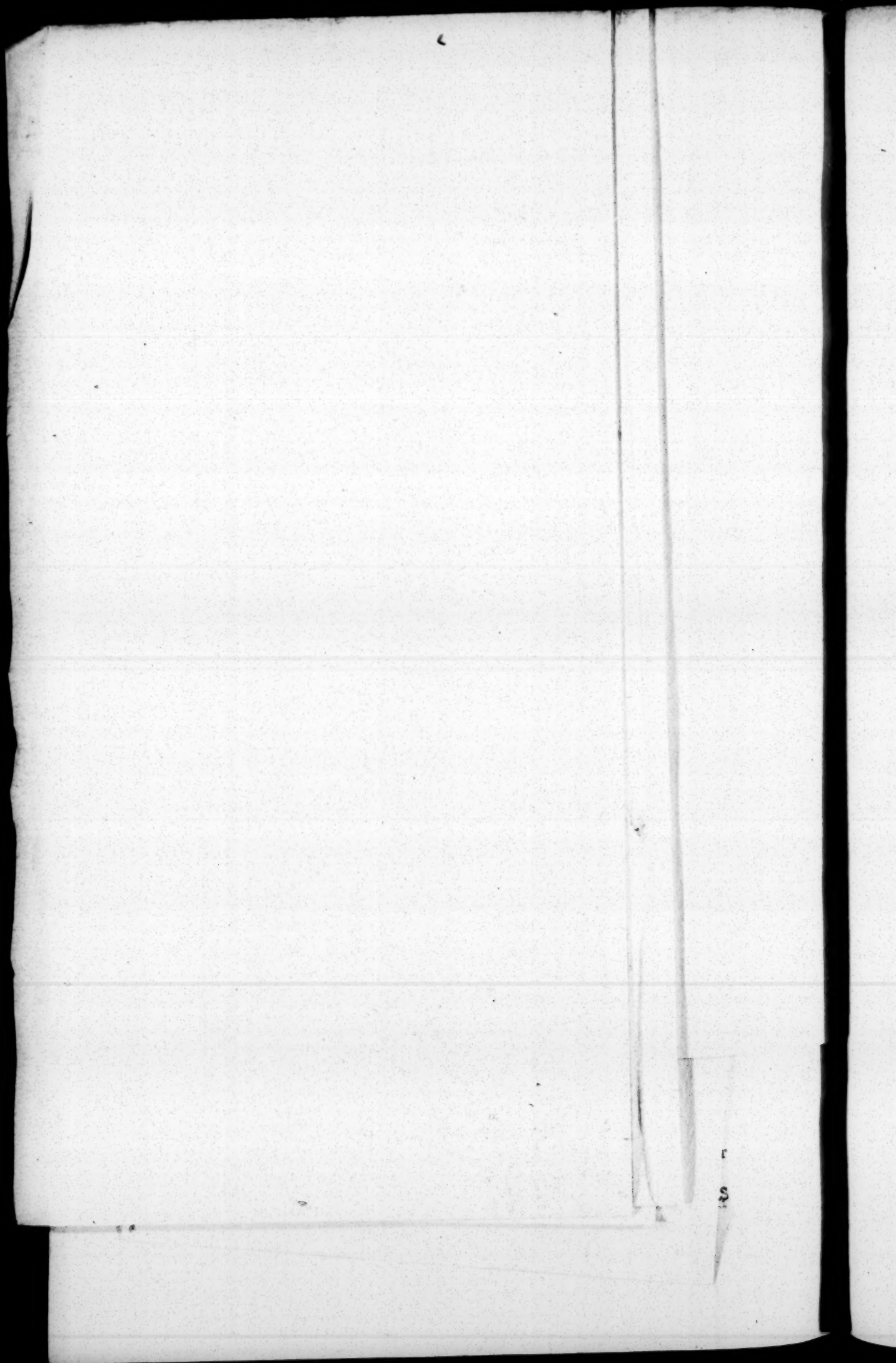
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was capable of; but as the king persisted in his resolution, the espousals at length took place, by means of the pope's dispensation*: an event which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences†.

This match was succeeded by the contract of another marriage, between the king of Scotland and Henry's daughter Margaret, on whom her father bestowed a portion of 100,000 crowns. The marriage treaty was ratified by the Scottish ambassadors at London, on the 24th day of January, A. D. 1502; and the nuptials were solemnized by proxy, amidst the rejoicings of the people; who hoped the mischief attending the mutual enmity of the two kingdoms would cease, by virtue of this alliance; though perhaps they did not foresee the union which it afterwards produced. When this affair was debated in council, an English nobleman observed, that if Henry should survive his male issue, the crown would devolve to the king of Scotland: to which Henry replied, that in such a case Scotland would become an accession to England, as the smaller would always be swallowed up in the greater dominion‡.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now, in every respect, very fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negotiation, were turned to the side of Italy; and the various events which there arose, made an alliance with Henry courted by every party. His close connections with Spain and Scotland ensured his tranquility; and his continued successes over domestic enemies, owing to the prudence and vigour of his conduct, had reduced the people to entire submission and obedience. Uncontrouled, therefore, by apprehension of oppo-

* Julius II.

† Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. iii. p. 386.

‡ Smollett's Hist. of England, Vol. i. p. 320.

fiction of any kind, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age, and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice.

Henry twice levied large sums on his people*, under the denomination of benevolences. These were collected chiefly from the mercantile part of the kingdom, and being hoarded in his coffers, diminished and impaired that circulation which is the life of trade. The exaction (for it cannot be called a contribution) from London alone, amounted nearly to ten thousand pounds. This mode of taxation was practised by Henry III †. Richard the Third, to win the favour of the people, judged it prudent to abolish it; but Henry, preferring riches to popularity, revived, and even enforced it with unusual rigour. In a few years afterwards, the parliament passed an act, empowering the king to levy, by course of law, the benevolences which different persons had promised to pay him: "hence," observes an old historian ‡, "may we perceive that what is once practised for the utility of a prince, and brought to a precedent by matter of record, may be turned to the great prejudice of the people, if rulers in authority will so adjudge and determine it." Morton, the chancellor, in his charge to the commissioners, directed them to employ an artifice, by which they should overturn the evasions of those who might be asked to contribute. To individuals, who pleaded the moderation of their expences, as a proof of the narrowness of their income, it was answered, that they must have saved money by frugality: to persons more costly in their way of living, it was insinuated, that their disbursements

* An. Dom. 1491, 1504. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. xii. p. 446.

† See page 91. I Hall, p. 22.

were unquestionable marks of their great riches*. This contemptible device was called, by some, the chancellor's crutch; and by others, his fork.

Nor were these the only extortions by which the king oppressed his subjects, whose hearts he lost, whilst he acquired their wealth; and thus, by a severe and unreasonable extension of penal laws, became rich as a man, but poor as a prince†. These acts of tyranny were the more fatal to the interests of commerce, as they generally fell on some of the chief merchants in the kingdom. Sir William Capel, an alderman of London, whose opulent fortune was employed in trade, stood condemned, by an arbitrary perversion of justice, to pay the then enormous sum of two thousand seven hundred and forty-three pounds, for having, in his mayoralty‡, received false money, and not inflicted (what was called) due punishment on the person accused of having coined it. Being either unwilling, or unable to advance so exorbitant a fine, he was committed to the Tower, from whence, after a long imprisonment, he was released by an order from Henry, who accepted of a composition, amounting to sixteen hundred and fifteen pounds. This instance frequently after became a precedent, and supplied the place of law. The lord-mayor, Sir Thomas Knefworth, and his two sheriffs, were imprisoned for pretended abuses, in the execution of their office, and not set free until they had payed fourteen hundred pounds. One of the succeeding lord-mayors, Sir Laurence Ailmer, and likewise both his sheriffs, were fined a thousand pounds, and imprisoned for non-payment. Christopher Hawes, a mercer and alderman of London, was, on the same

* Bacon, p. 602.
Vol. I. p. 328.

† Campbell's Lives of the Admirals,
‡ An. Dom. 1503.

account, committed to the Tower, where he died of grief.

The flagitious instruments employed on such occasions were, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley. The latter, possessed of genius, and a consummate knowledge of the laws, was skilled in glossing over, with apparently justifiable pretences, the most arbitrary proceedings. These abilities, added to a noble descent, had (notwithstanding that he disgraced both) rendered him somewhat more respectable than Empson, who, sprung from the dregs of the people*, and endued only with mischievous abilities, displayed that insolence so common to the mean in their prosperity, and boasted openly of the success of his extortions.

These men caused such as were reputed opulent to be indicted for sundry crimes. If the grand jury found the bills, the accused parties were committed; yet, not brought to any trial, until, of their own accord, they desired to compound with the king. If they were tedious in making this request, emissaries were employed to persuade them, that their obstinacy might expose them to a capital conviction. Anxious to preserve their lives, they submitted to compositions, by which they lost the greatest part of their property. To these the agents of Henry applied the gentle term of mitigations, and lavished their encomiums on the gracious disposition of the sovereign, who thus allayed the rigour of the laws.

These were the first, and consequently the most moderate proceedings in cases of extortion. The next enterprizes of the ministers were less scrupulously conducted; and even the common forms of justice were daringly neglected. They issued pre-

* He was a sieve-maker's son. Bacon, p. 629.

cepts to attach, and cite persons before them, at their private houses, where, erecting themselves into a court of commission, they, after a cursory examination, without adducing either proofs or witnesses, passed sentence on the victims of their oppressions, and condemned them in enormous fines, for the use of Henry. Thus, trampling on the right of juries, and every mode prescribed by law, they arrogated to themselves the privileges of determining equally in civil controversies, and in pleas of the crown. It appeared as if all criminal causes had belonged to that kind of jurisdiction, which, although seldom adverted to, in the preceding reigns, was become usual in this. The king insisted upon their keeping regular accounts of this scandalous commerce, and maintained a kind of distributive justice, even in the practice of corruption*.

About this time † Philip of Austria, who succeeded to the kingdom of Castile on the death of queen Isabella, returning from the Low Countries, with his queen, to Spain, on the conclusion of a successful war in Holland, was driven, by a violent storm, into the harbour of Weymouth, in Dorsetshire. As soon as Henry had notice of the accident which had befallen this prince, he determined to turn it to his own advantage. He received Philip with the utmost magnificence, and with every mark of friendship and respect; but while he kept him and his consort thus entertained with a round of pageantry and amusements, he concluded a treaty of commerce, the benefits of which are to this day experienced ‡.

* We are informed by lord Verulam, that he had seen a book of such accounts, kept by Eynson, and subscribed, in almost every leaf, by the king's own hand: among other articles he found the following: "Item. Received of such an one, five marks for a pardon; which, if it does not pass, the money to be repaid, or the party otherwise satisfied." Opposite to this memorandum, the king had writ, with his own hand, "Otherwise satisfied." † An. Dom. 1506. ‡ Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 142.

The principal aim of Henry, throughout his long reign, was, to depress the nobility and clergy, and to civilize and advance the populace. From the ambition of the former, and the blind obedience of the latter to their lords, arose all the commotions of former reigns. Every nobleman was possessed of a certain number of subjects, over whom he exercised an absolute authority; and, upon every occasion, could influence numbers to join in revolt against the reigning prince. As the most effectual means of reducing this power in the nobility, which rivaled that of sovereignty itself, the parliament passed an act, by which the nobility were invested with a right of alienating their estates. This law was highly pleasing to the commons; nor was it disrelished by the nobility, as it gave them an immediate resource for supplying the waste of prodigality, and the demands of their creditors. The blow struck at their posterity alone; but they were too short-sighted to discern such remote consequences*.

Nor was this the only step taken to reduce the exorbitant power of the nobility: by a great variety of acts of parliament, the engaging a great number of retainers, and giving them badges of livery, was prohibited. It has been already observed, that the powerful barons kept many hundreds of dependents: these served, like standing forces, to be ready at the summon of their lord, to assist him in all his wars, insurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of justice. By the regulations which took place in this reign,

* 4th Henry VII. cap. 24. The practice of breaking entails, by means of a fine and recovery, was introduced in the reign of Edward IV. but it was not, properly speaking, law, till this statute of Henry VII. which, by correcting some abuses which attended that practice, gave, indirectly, a sanction to it. *Hume's Hist. of England*, Vol. III. p. 400.

none but menial servants were permitted to wear a livery, under severe penalties to the lord; and these were levied with the utmost rigour on delinquents. We are told by lord Bacon, that the earl of Oxford, the king's favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deserved confidence, having splendidly entertained his royal master at his castle of Henningham, was desirous of making a parade of his magnificence, at the departure of his royal guest; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. "My lord," said the king, on seeing them; "I have heard much of your hospitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, whom I see on both sides of me, are, no doubt, your menial servants." The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. "They are most of them, subjoined he, my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence." The king started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight. My attorney must speak to you." The earl is said to have paid no less than fifteen thousand marks, as a composition for this offence.—If this king had not made it apparent, that avarice and rapacity ever influenced his conduct, such an instance of enforcing the laws against his favourite, might have been considered as dictated by impartiality, and a rigid adherence to justice.

We may observe, however, to the praise of Henry VII. that sometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants sums of money, without interest, when he knew that their stock was not sufficient for those enterprizes which they had in view.

view*. And in some things it must be allowed, that he shewed a magnificent spirit; particularly in building that noble chapel at Westminster, which bears his name, and which cost him fourteen thousand pounds; and the like sum he laid out in constructing a new ship, called the Great Harry, which may be said to be the first ship of the royal navy: until this time, the preceding kings, in their exigencies, applied to the Cinque-Ports; and either hired, or pressed into their service, the vessels of merchants. Henry VII. seems to have been the first king who thought of avoiding this inconvenience, by raising such a naval force as might be, at all times, the security, as well as glory of the kingdom. About fifty years after the building of this ship, it was accidentally set on fire at Woolwich, and consumed to the water-edge†.

A law had been enacted, during the reign of Henry IV ‡. that no man should bind his son, or daughter, to an apprenticeship, unless he was possessed of twenty shillings a year in land or rent: but on the manufacturers of Norwich representing to Henry VII. the injury which their trade sustained from the want of hands, the king exempted that city from the penalties of the law. Afterwards the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption, with regard to some branches of the woollen manufacture§. These injudicious restrictions were considered, by the false policy of those times, as tending to promote agriculture; the legislature not being then sensible, that an encrease of manufactures, by a necessary consequence, promotes husbandry.

In this reign a statute was made, ordaining, that no Gascon, nor Guinne wine, should be imported

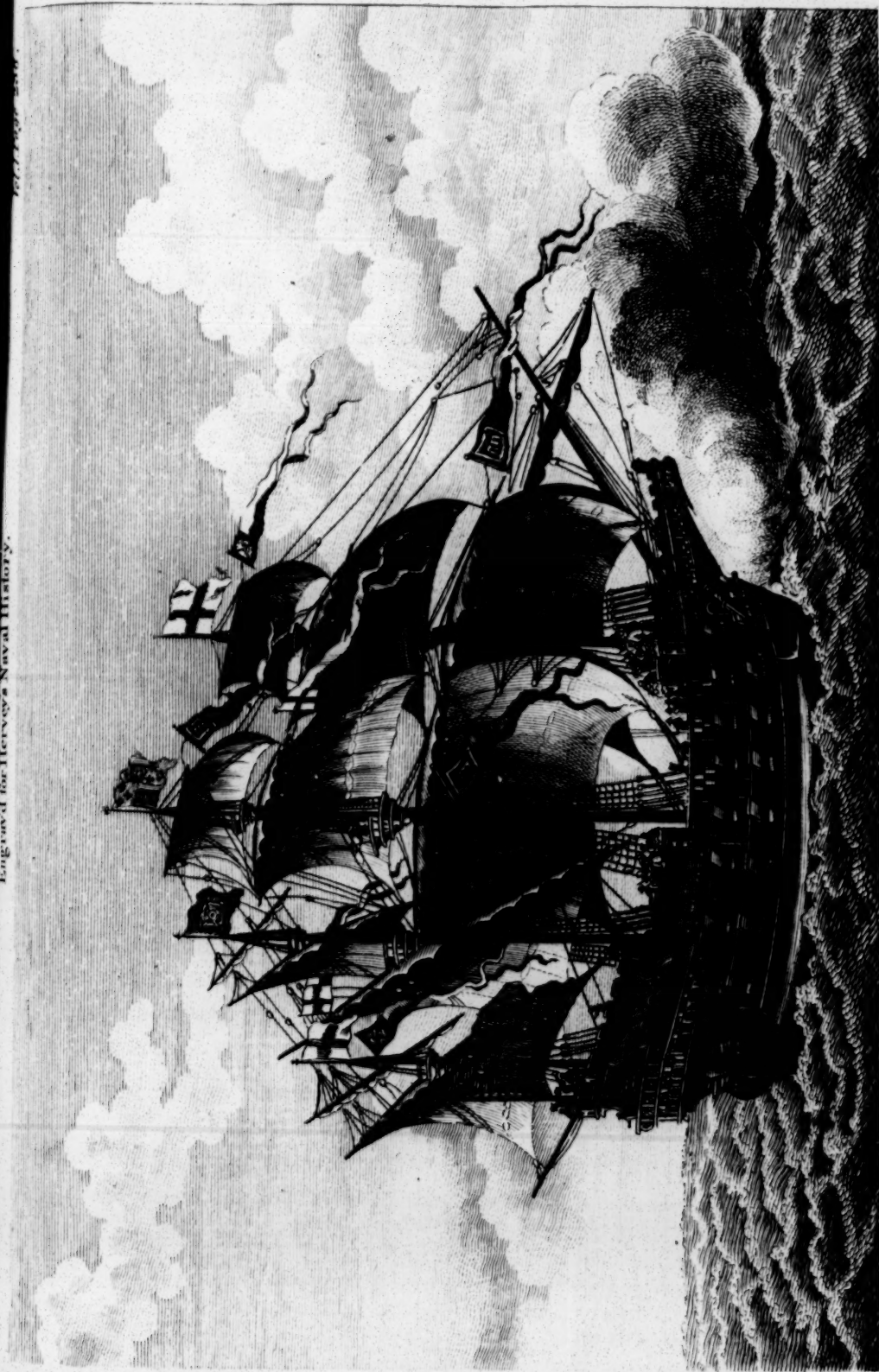
* Pol. Verg.

‡ 7th Henry IV. cap. 17.

cap. 1.

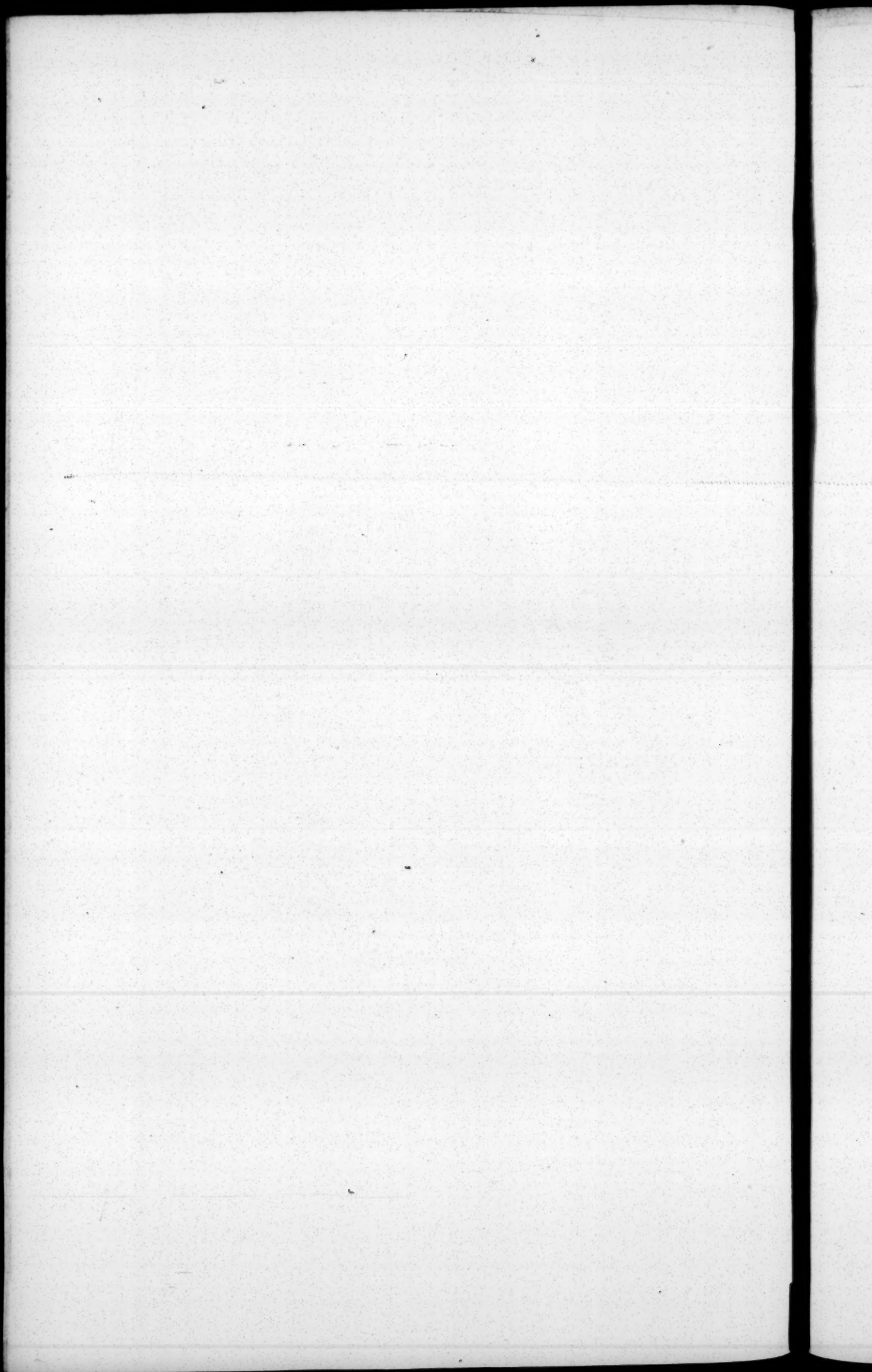
† Hollingshed's Chron. Vol. ii. p. 1099.

§ 11th Hen. VII. cap. 11, 12.—



J. G. S. 1840

A View of the GREAT HARRY built in the Reign of KING HENRY the VII.



by other than English, Irish, or Welshmen, and in their own shipping. This is the first time we find mention made of Welsh shipping in the statute-book, as trading beyond sea: a few years afterwards this statute was extended to Woad of Thoulouse, coming also from Gascony. From which instances it appears, that Henry and his parliament clearly enough perceived the vast advantages accruing to a nation, by employing its own ships and mariners in its commerce. And lord Bacon, in his life of king Henry VII. accordingly ascribes this law to that king's care to make his realm potent by sea, as well as by land.

The way of reckoning by pounds, marks, and shillings, as well as by pence and farthings, or farthings, had been in constant use from the Saxon times, long before the Norman conquest: yet it is unquestionable, that there never was such a coin in England, as either a pound or a mark; nor any shilling, till the year 1505; those three being merely ideal money, or only denominations, or means of reckoning, for conveniency: but in this year a few shillings, or twelve-pences, were coined, being about half the bigness of a modern shilling, or forty out of a pound weight of silver, fair and broad pieces, but have long since been solely confined to the cabinets of a few curious collectors*.

About this time negroes first began to be carried from the Portuguese settlements on the Guinea coasts, to the Spanish island of Hispaniola, being found more robust, and better suited for the purpose of working the mines for their rapacious European lords, than the natives of the continent of America, who had been, till about the year 1508, condemned to that severe drudgery†. This

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 339.
p. 536.

† Idem, Vol. i.

traffic with the human species was first taken up in England in the year 1562.

Henry VII. died of a consumption, at his palace of Richmond, on the 22d of April, 1509, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and fifty-second of his age. He was allowed, by his contemporaries, to have been one of the most politic princes of the age in which he lived; and his history has been transmitted to posterity by the masterly pen of the great lord chancellor Bacon, who, in doing justice to this king's talents for government, has shewn his own abilities; and, by freely censuring the faults that stained his character, he has set a noble example to English historians, to be more solicitous about truth, than the reputation of themselves, as writers, or the glory of those whose actions they record. An example which each succeeding age increases the difficulty of following; since, as corruption encreases, it not only enervates the will, but also warps the understanding.

So rigid was the frugality, and so boundless the extortion of this prince, that the treasures discovered at his death within his coffers, not only surpassed those which were accumulated by former monarchs, but whatsoever have been collected by the richest of his successors. One writer* hath informed us, that they amounted to five millions and three hundred thousand pounds, mostly in foreign coin. But lord Verulam makes mention only of eighteen hundred thousand pounds†, which the king had concealed in private corners, under his own lock and key, at the palace of Richmond, where he died. Even this sum appears incredible; if we reflect on the great scarcity of money during that period. Silver was then at thirty-seven shillings and six-pence a pound; consequently, the

* Coke, 4 Instit. cap. 35. Close-Roll. Ann. 3d Henry VII.
† Vol. ii. of his works, under the life of Henry VII. p. 353.

pecuniary acquisitions of Henry, according to the last computation, were nearly equal to three millions of money of this age. How must our wonder increase, when we learn * that Henry left behind him four millions and a half in bullion, exclusive of wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture ! These sums are not set down in figures, (a method likely to introduce mistakes) but in words, at full length. The authority for this assertion is the book of accompts kept between the king and Dudley. The apparent inconsistency of the two relations seems to clear up, if we suppose (as Sir Robert Cotton mentions only Dudley's book) that eight hundred thousand pounds stood on the account of Sir Richard Empson ; in which case, the sum will agree with the record cited by Sir Edward Coke †. From this circumstance we may conceive, what quantities of the national wealth had been tyrannically confiscated to the use of Henry. It seems, at least, a proof, that the generality of his subjects, how limited soever their incomes may have been, were, in their turns, compelled to gratify his avarice ; and it may also induce us to entertain a doubt, whether the English, of that æra, were as poor as most writers have represented them.

During the reign of Henry VII. the Portuguese were prosecuting discoveries with infinite perseverance, under the auspices of John II. Encouraged by the patronage of this intelligent prince, a new method was invented of applying astronomy to navigation. The Cape, which terminates Africa to the south, was doubled by some adventurous Portuguese, who named it the Cape of Storms ; but the king, entertaining a full assurance that it would give access to the East-Indies by sea, which was

* Sir Robert Cotton's Answer to the Reasons for foreign Wars, p. 53.
 Davenant's Grants and Resumptions, p. 250.
 Lives of the Admirals, Vol. i. p. 334.

† Campbell's

then only known to Europe, by a tedious, dangerous, and expensive intercourse over-land, called it the Cape of Good Hope. John II. was succeeded by Emanuel, a prince equally disposed and qualified to give effect to the prevailing spirit of the times. In the year 1497, he sent out four ships, under the command of Vasco di Gama, who, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, was, for a long time tossed by successive tempests, whilst he proceeded along the eastern coast of Africa; a sea, till then, unploughed by Europeans. At length, after a tedious voyage of thirteen months, he entered the Bay of Bengal, and landed on the rich and extensive kingdom of Hindostan.

“No event,” says a celebrated writer, “has been so interesting to mankind in general, and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the discovery of the New World, and the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, which took place almost at the same time. It gave rise to a revolution in the commerce, and in the power of nations; and in the manners, industry, and government of the whole world. At this period, new connections were formed by the inhabitants of the most distant regions, for the supply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates situated under the equator, were consumed in countries bordering on the pole; the industry of the north was transported to the south; and the inhabitants of the west were cloathed with the manufactures of the east: a general intercourse of opinions, laws and customs, diseases and remedies, virtues and vices, was established among men*.”

* Raynal, Hist. Politic. liv. i.

C H A P. II.

The Reign of Henry the Eighth—War with France—Naval Engagement between the English and French—Loss of the Regent—The King's Ship named Henry Grace de Dieu—Another Sea-fight—Peace with France—Marriage of Louis XII. with the Princess Mary—Interview between Henry VIII. and Francis I.—Ferdinand Magelhaen crosses the South-Seas—Rise of the Reformation in England—Commercial Views of Henry VIII.—Voyages undertaken by private Adventurers—the first Law for regulating Interest of Money.

NO prince ever ascended the English throne, with the prepossessions of the nation more strongly in his favour, than Henry VIII. He was then about eighteen years of age; of quick and lively parts, improved by an excellent education; superadded to which, his person was remarkably beautiful. He succeeded his father in a peaceable kingdom; was assisted by experienced and wise counsellors; his treasury was immensely stored; all factions were extinguished, as in his person were united the claims of the two roses; being, by his father's side, descended from the house of Lancaster; and, by his mother's, from the house of York. England was at peace with all Europe. Commerce and arts had been introduced in the former reign, and they seemed to find a favourable reception in this country. The first acts of his reign were conformable to the hopes entertained of

him. He gave liberty to all such as his father had oppressively confined; and caused Empson and Dudley, with their emissaries, to be apprehended, and brought to trial. As they had sheltered themselves behind the letter of the law, their extortions and crimes were not properly punishable by a judicial process: but the people loudly clamoured for their death; and the king, equally inclined to cut off these instruments of tyranny, suffered the laws to be strained, in order to effect it. They were tried on a frivolous charge, of having entered into a conspiracy against the reigning sovereign, by plotting, on the death of his father, to seize, by force, the administration of government. The juries were so influenced by popular resentments, as to give a verdict against each, which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament; and, at the earnest desire of the people, the sentence was executed by warrant from the king; by virtue of which they were both beheaded. "Thus," says Mr. Hume, "in those arbitrary times, justice was equally violated, whether the king sought power and riches, or courted popularity *."

One of the first acts of this king, after his accession to the throne, was to espouse Catharine, princess-dowager of Wales, the widow of his brother Arthur.

Henry VIII. had it much in his thoughts to revive the claims of his predecessors on the kingdom of France; but many leading men in his court saw the baneful effects produced, by England making conquests on the continent. Lord Herbert particularly, expresses himself on this point in the following manner: "If, when all Guienne, Anjou, "Touraine, and for a long time Normandy, were

* History of England, Vol. iii. p. 412.

"ours;

" ours; and when the duke of Bretagne was our
 " friend, and the house of Burgundy an assured
 " ally and confederate, we yet could not advance
 " our designs in France, what hope is there now
 " to attain them? Let it be even granted, that as
 " many battles as we fought against the French,
 " were almost so many victories, what was this
 " kingdom the better for them? Had we ever a
 " more glorious reign than that of Edward III.
 " and yet was the kingdom ever more poor, or
 " weary of the wars? And shall we trust now to
 " better days? What, though with our twelve thou-
 " sand, or fifteen thousand men, we have often
 " defeated their armies of fifty thousand, or sixty
 " thousand, can we reasonably expect the like suc-
 " cess now? Especially since the use of arms is
 " changed, and for the bow (proper for men of
 " our strength) the calwer [hand-gun] begins to
 " be generally received; which, besides that it is
 " a more costly weapon, requires a long practice,
 " and may be managed by a weaker arm. Let us
 " then cease our attempts against the terra-firma,
 " as the natural situation of islands seems not to
 " suit with such kind of conquests; but when we
 " would enlarge ourselves, let it be the way we
 " can, and that to which the eternal Providence
 " seems to have destined us, which is by sea."

Sound policy does not always influence public mea-
 sures: this young monarch, eager to distinguish
 himself, and to employ that power and opulence
 which he possessed, leagued with the pope, Spain,
 and Venice, against France. Ferdinand the Catho-
 lic, king of Spain, his father-in-law, agreed to join
 his naval force to that of England, for the purpose
 of protecting the commerce of both nations. By
 this compact, each king was to furnish three thou-
 sand men, armed and equipped for naval war;
 and Ferdinand agreed to furnish forty ships, some
 of

of which were to reach three hundred tons burden, and the rest smaller, down to one hundred tons, to rendezvous at Southampton, where Henry's forces were to embark, though his quota is not specified. The pretext which Ferdinand urged for drawing the young king into a war, was, the conquest of Guienne for Henry, which had been the ancient inheritance of the crown of England: but this plea was only to cover his real designs, which were, to subdue the kingdom of Navarre for himself, by the help of the English troops.

This step being taken, Henry conferred the command of the fleet upon Sir Edward Howard, second son of Thomas earl of Surry, afterwards duke of Norfolk, who had distinguished himself by his skill and bravery in the preceding reign, and who was, on this occasion, created lord high admiral of England. After having conveyed the troops destined to act on land, to the province of Guipuscoa, the admiral made a descent on the coast of Bretagne. This descent alarmed the French, who prepared a great fleet to oppose that of England: but a considerable reinforcement was sent from Plymouth, among which were two capital ships; the one called the Regent, commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet, and the other the Sovereign, by Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk. When this squadron had joined the admiral, his fleet consisted of forty-five sail, with which he immediately resolved to attack the enemy, who were preparing to sail from the harbour of Brest. The force of the French fleet is very differently described by different writers: however, it was commanded by a brave officer, named Primauget: the ship, on board of which he fought, was called the Cordelier, and was so large as to be able to carry twelve hundred men; but the number then on board

board appears to have been nine hundred. Sir Thomas Knevet, in the *Regent*, although it was a much smaller ship, attacked and boarded the French admiral. The action lasted for some time, with equal vigour on both sides. Both fleets stood some time in suspense, as spectators of this dreadful single combat. At length, the French admiral finding himself overpowered, set fire to his ship, which communicating to the English ship to which he was grappled, exhibited a dreadful spectacle of horror to the two fleets: the cries of fury and despair, which were uttered by those on board, filled each party with dismay, but could bring no relief to the perishing crews. Both ships blew up almost at the same time; the two commanders, and upwards of sixteen hundred men, perished by this fatal catastrophe. This dreadful scene rendered each side disinclined to renew the battle: the French retired to Brest, and the English remained masters of the channel*.

An indenture, in English, is preserved in the *Fædera*†, between Henry VIII. and his admiral Sir Edward Howard, which throws great light on the manner of fitting out fleets for war in those times; we have therefore extracted as follows.

I. Besides the three thousand men, which, by league with Ferdinand of Spain, were to be furnished, and who were to be armed for sea-war, there were to be seven hundred soldiers, mariners, and gunners, in king Henry's ship, named the *Regent*. These three thousand men consisted of eighteen captains of the English ships, one thousand

* In the great church of St. Malo is a representation of this battle, cut in stone, which also serves to commemorate the French admiral, who was made a saint; and, it is said, that his memory is, to this day, preserved in the Romish Calendar, under the title of St. Donat.

† Vol. XIII. p. 326.

seven hundred and fifty soldiers, and one thousand two hundred and thirty-two marines and gunners.

II. The admiral to have, for the maintenance of himself in diet, and for wages and reward, ten shillings daily pay during the voyage; and each captain one shilling and six-pence per day, i. e. two shillings and seven-pence of our modern money.

III. The soldiers, mariners, and gunners, to have, per month, of twenty eight days, five shillings wages, and five shillings more for victuals.

IV. The admiral undertakes to manage this armament, for the before-named and following purposes, he receiving three months expence always before hand. *Item.* For the coat of every captain and soldier four shillings, and of every mariner and gunner one shilling and eight-pence.

This fleet is described as follows :

The Regent	—	1000 Tons.
Mary-Rose	—	500
Peter Pomegranate	-	400
John Hopton's ship	-	400
Nicholas Rude	--	400
Mary-George	—	300

The rest of the eighteen ships were, one of 240 tons; one of 200 tons; three of 160 ditto each; one of 180 tons; two of 140 tons; three of 120 tons each; and one of 100 tons. For re-victualling and watering this fleet, the admiral was allowed two crayers; one of 65 tons, and the other of 55; in the former twelve mariners and a boy, in the latter ten and a boy, besides their commanders; each of the masters and commanders to have ten shillings per month for wages and victuals.

V. All the soldiers and sailors to have six-pence per day for conduct-money; allowing a day's journey

journey to be twelve miles only. It then goes on thus :

“ And forasmuch as our sovereign lord, at his costs and charges, victualed the said army and navy, the said admiral shall therefore reserve for the king, the one-half of all gains and winnings of the war, which he and the fleet, or any of them, shall fortune to obtain in the voyage, either on land or water : and also all prisoners, being chieftains ; and one ship-royal, of two hundred tons, or upwards, with the ordnance and apparel of every prize to be taken by them.”

This English fleet was to guard the seas from the channel to the straits-mouth of Gibraltar ; and king Ferdinand's fleet was to guard the Mediterranean. It was about this time that ships began to be reckoned by guns and tonnage jointly ; gunners being now, for the first time, mentioned in the *Fæderæ*.

In the same year James IV. king of Scotland, equipped a fleet, which he intended to send to France, under pretence of presenting it to queen Anne, consort of Louis XII. one of which ships, says Rapin, was the largest that had ever been seen on the sea ; but the whole armament was lost, or disabled, by a storm. The king's real intention, in this step, was to aid the French king against his brother-in-law Henry VIII.

Lord Herbert informs us, that the Regent, mentioned above to carry a thousand tons, was the largest ship ever known in England to that time. It was built at Woolwich, which was the first royal dock in England. From this time we may date the commencement of the *English Royal Navy* ; consisting of a number of stout ships for war, belonging to the crown, and permanently kept on foot for national defence. King Henry VIII. being the first English king who effectually pursued this plan, and

for that end first established a royal navy-office, with commissioners, &c. nearly as at present. He must, indeed, be allowed, amidst all his wild dissipations, to have employed great sums of money on his marine affairs; as well for the construction of ships of war, as of docks, yards, store-houses, &c.

For the advancement and benefit of navigation and commerce, the king chartered a corporation for the business of examining, licensing, and regulating of pilots; for the ordering and directing of beacons, light-houses, buoys, &c. which is styled *The Corporation of the Trinity-House of Deptford Stroud**. He afterwards instituted a similar society at Hull, and another at Newcastle-upon-Tyne†: which establishments, according to Hakluyt, were in imitation of that which the emperor Charles V. had made at Seville. The king, by his charter to the Trinity-House, confirmed all the ancient rights, privileges, &c. of the shipmen and mariners of England, and their several possessions at Deptford; whereby it appears, that such a society did exist before this time, though no traces of it are transmitted down to us. This corporation, whose powers have been since confirmed and augmented by succeeding kings, have the privilege of appointing pilots for the king's ships, regulating their wages, certifying their qualifications, as well as those of the masters of ships of war. They are likewise empowered to clear and deepen the Thames by ballast-hoys, with which ballast they supply the shipping. The examination of the forty mathematical boys at Christ's-Hospital, is likewise entrusted to them; who are likewise empowered to hear and determine complaints of officers and sailors, in the merchant's service.

* Bishop Gibson's Additions to Camden.

† Anno 1537.

In the April following * the admiral put to sea again, with a fleet of forty-two men of war, besides small vessels, and drove the French into the harbour of Brest, where they fortified themselves, waiting for the arrival of a squadron of gallies from the Mediterranean. Sir Edward Howard found it impossible to attack them in that situation; he therefore laid waste the country round. Whilst he was thus employed, the six gallies appeared in the bay, under the command of M. Pregent; who, to avoid the English fleet, took shelter, with his squadron, in the Bay of Conquest, a few leagues from the harbour of Brest. The English admiral, therefore, determined to attack the gallies, which were at anchor between two rocks; on each of which a strong fort was erected: their situations were rendered more secure, by lying far up in the bay, so that the English ships of force could not be brought to engage them. Still, however, this bold commander was determined to undertake their destruction; for which end he selected some of the bravest of his seamen, whom he put on board two gallies, which accompanied his fleet; and with these he proceeded to attack the French as they lay at anchor. Sir Edward Howard himself, with seventeen of his men, boarded the French commodore; but being unsupported by the rest of the crew, the two gallies being accidentally separated, after withstanding, for a long time, the whole French force, all these brave men were either slain, or driven into the sea, one seaman only excepted, who served to inform the enemy that the English admiral was among the number of the vanquished. Lord Ferrers, who commanded the other gally, exerted himself to the utmost to accomplish the object of the enterprize; but having expended all

* An. Dom. 1513.

his ammunition, and seeing the fate of the admiral decided, retired out of the harbour*.

Fuller, in his *State-worthies*, relates †, that the posture of the French fleet in the harbour of Brest, and the consequences that must follow, either defeating or burning it, led the admiral to solicit the king, his master, to be present at so glorious an action, choosing rather that Henry should have the honour of destroying the French naval force, than himself. These dispatches were laid before the privy council, who disrelished the proposal, thinking it too great a hazard of the king's person: they, therefore, advised sending the admiral an answer, reprehending him for his delays, and urging him to immediate exertions. Sir Edward was highly piqued at this treatment; and being naturally impetuous, he determined to wipe off the imputation by some desperate act of bravery.

Thus fell the great Sir Edward Howard, a sacrifice to too quick a sense of honour in the service. A favourite maxim with this commander was, that "a seaman never performed any great achievement, who was not resolute to a degree of madness."

The king, immediately on hearing of the loss of his high admiral, invested Sir Thomas Howard, the elder brother of the deceased, with that important post. This gallant officer had already distinguished himself for his bravery and public spirit, having, in conjunction with his brother, two years before, fitted out, at the expence of their family, two ships, to go in quest of some Scotch ships, which greatly annoyed the trade and navigation on the North-Seas. The two brothers being separated by a storm, happened each to fall in with one of the two ships they were in quest of. That

* Lord Herbert, p. 30.

† Page 141.

which

which Sir Thomas Howard engaged was called the *Lion*, and was commanded by Sir Andrew Barton: the fight was long and doubtful; Barton being an experienced seaman, and being served by a resolute crew; but he happening to fall in the action, the ship surrendered. In the mean time Sir Edward fought and took the consort of the *Lion*, called *Jenny Perwin*, which was likewise a stout ship, and well manned*.

James IV. king of Scotland, was much displeased at this proceeding, and sent ambassadors to his brother-in-law Henry, demanding satisfaction; when they received for answer, that punishing pirates was never held a breach of peace among princes. James, however, still continued dissatisfied; and, from that time to his death, remained unreconciled to the king and the English nation.

Sir Thomas Howard being now created lord high admiral of England†, immediately put to sea, determined to revenge his brother's death on the French; but before he could come up with their fleet, he was drawn off by other events. Henry VIII. being, at that time, in Picardy, James IV. seized this favourable opportunity, and invaded Northumberland with a numerous army. The earl of Surry, father to the two high admirals, marched against the invader with a powerful army, and was presently joined by his son Sir Thomas Howard, with five thousand veteran troops. The earl of Surry sent a herald to the king of Scotland, offering to give him battle; whilst the lord admiral sent the king word, that he was come in person, to answer for the death of Sir Andrew Barton. This defiance produced the famous battle of Flou-
den, which was fought on the 19th of September, 1513, wherein Sir Thomas Howard commanded

* Hollingshead, Cooper's Chron.

† An. Dom. 1513.

the vanguard, and, by his courage and conduct, contributed much to the obtaining that important victory, in which king James was slain, with the flower of the Scotch nobility. The loss, on the side of the English, was considerable in point of numbers; but few persons, of any note were slain. Henry entertained so strong a sense of the services which the Howards had rendered him, that, at a parliament held the next year, he restored Thomas, earl of Surry, to the title of Norfolk; and created the lord admiral, earl of Surry.

At this time Thomas Wolsey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, surpassed, in favour, all his ministers, and was fast advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was the son of a private gentleman (and not of a butcher, as is commonly reported) at Ipswich. He was sent to Oxford very young, where he early discovered very pregnant parts. He found means to render himself useful to Henry VII. and was become the favourite of the young prince, in the life-time of his father. He possessed a great fund of wit; and, being strongly addicted to dissolute pleasures, he became the pander of the young monarch's vices. But whilst he gave a loose to pleasure, he was penetrating, cool, informed, and insatiably ambitious. This minister entertained a strong dislike to the Norfolk family; notwithstanding which, their eminent services advanced them to the most distinguished honours.

A peace with France was ratified, 7th August, 1514, whereby Tournay, which had been taken by the English, was ceded to them; and Louis XII. agreed, to pay Henry a million of crowns, being the arrears due, by treaty, to his father and himself: a marriage was likewise agreed upon, between the French king, then fifty-three years of age, and the princess Mary, Henry's sister, then sixteen; and her

her portion was settled at four hundred thousand crowns. But the French monarch did not live many months after this marriage took place. He was succeeded by the duke de Valois, under the name of Francis I.

By this time all the immense treasures of the late king were quite exhausted. Wolsey was a proper instrument to supply the king with money, which he extorted by the name of benevolences. In proceeding in his exactions, however, he met with some opposition; having drawn a considerable subsidy from the clergy, he next applied to the house of commons, from whom he could only obtain a grant of half the supplies he demanded.

Wolsey, who had been created a cardinal, and appointed legate from the pope in England, was, at this time, a bishop, prime minister, and possessed of numberless church benefices; he was greatly offended at this proceeding, and desired to be heard in the house; but this innovation the commons refused to grant, urging, that the right of debating in that assembly was confined to the members of it. Wolsey was soon after raised to still greater dignities; being, at once, archbishop of York, bishop of Durham, abbot of St. Albans, lord-chancellor of England, prime minister, and favourite; carested, or feared, by all the powers of Europe; and invested, by the pope, with a cardinal's hat, and appointed his legate for life. As his rapaciousness increased with his power, he now undertook, more openly, to render the king, his master, independent of his parliament; and levied the subsidy, granted by the commons, for four years, and which was consequently intended to be paid at four different times, all at once. This was a grievance too heavy to be submitted to without murmuring: but the minister was deaf to the clamours
which

which his oppressions excited; sheltered, as he was, in the favour and protection of the king, and the pope.

These proceedings only paved the way for still greater extortions. The minister, at length, determined to levy money upon the king's authority alone. Such a flagitious violation of the compact which subsisted between the monarch and his subjects, roused the whole nation into opposition, and threatened a general defection. The king, sensible of the consequences which such despotic measures would draw after them, disclaimed all concern in them, and threw the whole odium on his favourite; but, at the same time, he demanded from the people a benevolence, which was only changing the mode of taxation, not removing the burden of it. The citizens of London first set the example of opposition, by refusing to give the benevolence demanded; and every part of the kingdom breathed the same spirit. The king, perceiving he had gone too far, dropped his demand, and thereby dispersed the gathering storm.

At one time, during these contests, when the commons demurred about granting a supply required by the king, he is said to have been so provoked, that he sent for a Mr. Montague, a member who had considerable influence on the house; and, on his approach, accosted him in the following manner: *Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass?* Then laying his hand on the member's head, as he knelt before the king, he added; *Get my bill passed before to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off**. At another time Wolsey, endeavouring to terrify the citizens of London into a loan, told them roundly, that *it were better some of them*

* Collin's Peerage.

should suffer indigence, than that the king, at this time, should lack; and therefore beware, and resist not, nor ruffle not, in this case; for it may fortune to cost some people their heads *. Such was the style employed by this king and his ministers! Farther to illustrate the state of affairs, in these times of despotism, we are told, both by lord Herbert and Hall, that when a lawyer of the city of London pleaded the statute of Richard III. as an exemption from the benevolences required by the king, it was replied, that Richard being an usurper, and his parliament a factious assembly, his statutes could not bind a lawful and absolute monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace. The judges even went so far, as to affirm positively, that the king might exact, by commission, any sum he pleased; and the privy council gave a ready assent to this decree, which annihilated the most valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious †.

Whilst the will of an oppressor seemed to make every man's property, and even his life dependant, a circumstance happened, which, in its remote consequences, tended to pull down all usurpations on the natural rights of mankind, and to give full scope to the intellectual powers of the human mind. The scandalous lives of the clergy, and the exemptions which they claimed from secular jurisdiction, were, at once, an outrage upon decorum, and a standing libel on government. A man having *habitu et censuram clericalem*, that is, being really an ecclesiastic, if guilty of a crime cognizable by the laws, might be arraigned before the civil jurisdiction; but if found guilty, had a right to plead the benefit of his clergy in arrest of judgment: where²

* Hall's Chron. p. 38.
Vol. IV. p. 62.

† Hume's Hist. of England,

upon no punishment could be inflicted upon him, but he was to be delivered over to an officer, called an ordinary, to be dealt with according to the ecclesiastical canons, which adjudged him to a new trial before the bishop of the diocese, or his deputy; which court, after a parade of mock-justice, usually acquitted him. In the early periods of our constitution, none but such as were clerks in orders, were indulged in this plea; but afterwards a much greater latitude was given to persons claiming it; for every one who could read was admitted to it; such a qualification being considered, in those barbarous days, as a proof of great learning: those, therefore, were styled lay-clerks. As knowledge grew to be more generally diffused, it was found, that more laymen than divines were admitted to what was called the *privilegium clericale*: it was therefore thought proper to make a distinction between learned laymen, and real clerks in orders; and a statute ordains *, that no person once admitted to the benefit of clergy, should be allowed to claim it a second time, unless he produced his orders; and effectually to distinguish the persons of clerks from laymen, all the latter, who were allowed the privilege of clergy, were directed to be burnt with a hot iron in the brawn of the left thumb, for all offences then clergyable, which continues to be the law at this day. It may be curious to observe here, that in the reign of Edward VI. it was enacted † that lords of parliament, and peers of the realm, might have the benefit of clergy, equivalent to that of the clergy, for the first offence, *although they could not read*; and without being burnt in the hand, for all offences then clergyable to commoners.

Such toleration of the clergy, in the commission of crimes, gave great offence, as thereby these

* 4th Henry VII. chap. 13.

† 1st Edward VI. chap. 12.

ensamples of good morals, became dissolute and abandoned. In many parts of England and Germany, the people obliged the priests to have concubines, in order that the laity might keep their wives in greater security. But what most increased the popular hatred of the clergy was, the selling pardons and absolutions for sin, at certain stated prices. A deacon, or subdeacon, who should commit murder, was absolved from his crime, and allowed to possess three benefices, upon paying twenty crowns. A bishop, or an abbot, might commit murder for ten pounds. Every crime had its stated price; and absolutions were given not only for sins already committed, but for such as should be committed hereafter. Leo X. who, at this time filled the papal chair, possessed a strong and penetrating genius; but those noble and magnificent undertakings, which will transmit his name to remotest posterity, as the reviver and patron of the fine arts, had entirely exhausted his treasury; to replenish which, he had recourse to the sale of indulgences; an expedient which had often been made use of in former times to draw money from the Christian world. The enlightened understanding of this pontiff, and his familiar acquaintance with the erudition of antiquity, could not, but lay open to him the extravagant folly of such doctrines and practice, which his interest led him to promote. These indulgences procured a man a deliverance from the pains of purgatory, either for himself or his friends. In all parts of Christendom shops were opened, where these plenary absolutions were sold, at a price proportioned to the offences which they wiped away. The right of carrying on this traffic was invested in the Dominican friars, to the exclusion of those of the Augustine order, who had possessed the office of distributing them time immemorial. Martin Luther was an

Augustine monk, who being much offended at thus transferring the sale of indulgences to another order, expressed his resentment by preaching against their efficacy. Being once embarked in a plan of opposition, he soon went beyond the point he had first in view : he proceeded to examine the authority of the pope himself. The opposition of this reformer to the papal power was, doubtless, founded on a zealous attachment to truth, and a sincere desire of correcting those abuses which had overspread the Christian world. The people, who had long groaned under the weight of papal tyranny, heard his discourses with pleasure, and defended him against the authority and machinations of the church of Rome. Frederic, elector of Saxony, surnamed the wise, openly protected him. Luther as openly declaimed against the number of sacraments, reducing the seven held by the church of Rome, first to three, and afterwards to two : from thence he proceeded to examine the doctrine of transubstantiation ; to shew the folly of supposing a purgatory, and the dangerous consequence of celibacy among the clergy. All Europe, in a little time, attended to his writings ; and he gained many adherents to his doctrines among people of every rank and condition. Henry VIII. who had been early made acquainted with the learning generally inculcated in that age, was a considerable proficient in school divinity ; and being strongly attached to the church of Rome, was particularly prejudiced against Luther, who, in his writings, had spoken very contemptuously of Thomas Aquinas, whose works the king held in the highest estimation. He was, therefore, eager to display his abilities to the world, in a department totally inconsistent with the views and employments of a monarch. He applied for the pope's permission to read Luther's writings ; which having obtained, he sat about defending,

defending the seven sacraments, from St. Thomas Aquinas, in a Latin treatise, and acquitted himself very well for a king: but it is supposed, that Wolsey guided the royal pen. A copy of this elaborate work was sent to Rome, for the perusal of Leo X. who received it with the strongest testimony of regard, comparing it to the writings of St. Augustine, or St. Jerome; and conferred on the royal author the title of *Fidei Defensor*, "Defender of the Faith;" which is still retained by the kings of England. The fallibility of his holiness, however, in this instance, betrayed itself; for little did he then suspect, that this his zealous son, would, ere long, prove an apostate, and be transformed into the most bitter enemy to the church of Rome.

Whilst the dawn of reason was breaking forth in the moral world, the science of cosmography was extended by another very singular incident. Portugal had now stretched her dominion over the islands of Asia, and had acquired many valuable possessions on various parts of that continent; whilst Spain was desolating the southern continent of America, by every species of cruelty which insatiable avarice could suggest. Pope Alexander VI. had kindly given his sanction to the monarch of each kingdom: to the first he granted a right of possessing all countries that should be discovered to the eastward; to the latter all those that should be discovered to the westward of the Islands of the Azores. A jealousy of each other soon broke out between these two opulent states. Magelhaens, or Magellans, a native of Portugal, and an officer in the Portuguese service, having received some disgust, threw up his employments and offered his services to the king of Spain, which being accepted, in 1519, he set sail from the port of Seville, with five ships, and two hundred and thirty men, on a design of reaching the East-Indies, by sailing westward, and thereby sharing those possessions with the Portuguese,

guese, by virtue of the pope's grant: The infallibility of the roman pontiff again deserted him on this occasion. Mankind were not then sufficiently acquainted with the theory of the earth to be aware, that as the Spaniards advanced to the west and the Portuguese to the east, they must at length meet. Having arrived at the coast of Brasil, Magelhaens proceeded to the southward, until he entered those straits which now bear his name; proceeding, with inflexible perseverance, through that tedious and dangerous navigation, he arrived at their western extremity: his undaunted mind led him to enter the great, and then unknown South-Sea, in November 1520. The arduous nature of the enterprize, and perhaps something of supercilious haughtiness in the leader, soon alienated the captains of the several ships from their admiral. The Portuguese and Spaniards were then rivals in sea-affairs; but the former claimed the pre-eminence in skill and abilities. When, therefore, the boundless expanse of the South Sea lay before him, he found himself left to pursue the vast idea of arriving at the East-Indies by a western course, the possibility of doing which, was then merely theoretical, reduced to only three bad-conditioned ships. But nothing could deter this fearless man, who had already anticipated deathless fame, and immense wealth, by doing more than Columbus, Americus Vespusius, or Vasco di Gama had accomplished. Little more is known concerning this matchless undertaking, by which the circular figure of the earth was experimentally proved, than that Magelhaens visited the Marian Islands, which he named Ladrones, from the thievish disposition of the inhabitants; and afterwards the Philippines, where he met his death in a skirmish with the natives*. This navigator's original design of securing some of the Spice-Islands, was defeated by his death; for those who succeeded in the command, contented themselves with passing

* New Discoveries concerning the World, p. 365.

through

through them; and afterwards returned to Spain, by sailing over the Indian Ocean. But though Spain did not acquire a property in the Spice-Islands, yet the discovery of the Philippines was thought too considerable to be neglected; as they were not only situated near the places that produced spices, but were well suited for a trade to China, and for the commerce of the other parts of India. A communication was, therefore, soon established, between these islands and the Spanish colonies on the coast of Peru; whence the city of Manilla, which was built on the Island of Luconia, (one of the Philippines) soon became the mart of all Indian commodities, which were bought up by the Spanish inhabitants, and annually sent to Peru*.

In the year 1518, the death of Maximilian, emperor of Germany, caused an important change in the political system of Europe. Francis I. the French king, and Charles V. king of Spain, declared themselves candidates for the Imperial diadem: on the latter being elected to that chief station among Christian princes, a disgust and jealousy took place, between these two powerful monarchs. Both were endowed with eminent talents and abilities: brave, aspiring, active, warlike; beloved by their subjects, dreaded by their enemies, and respected by all the world. Francis was open, frank, liberal, munificent; carrying these virtues to an excess which prejudiced his affairs. Charles was political, close, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain success in wars and negotiations. The one the more amiable man, the other the greater monarch. The king, from his oversights and indiscretions, naturally exposed to misfortunes; but qualified, by his spirit and magnanimity, to extricate himself from them with honour: the emperor, from his designing, interested character, fitted, in his greatest successes, to excite jealousy

* Fenning's System of Geography, Vol. I. p. 109.

and opposition, even among his allies, and to rouse up a multitude of enemies, in the place of one whom he had subdued. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never erected, of a sudden, so great a power as that which vested in the emperor Charles V. He enjoyed the succession of Castile, Arragon, Austria, and the Netherlands; he inherited the conquests of Naples and Granada; election gave him the empire; and the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged, a little before his time, that he might possess the treasure of the new world, whilst entire and unrifled. But through the concurrence of all these advantages, formed an empire greater, and more extensive than any known in Europe since that of the Romans; yet the kingdom of France alone, being close, compact, united, rich, populous; and being interposed between all the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous opposition to his progress, and maintain the contest against him. At the same time Henry VIII. possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom, and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers; and had he known how to improve by policy and prudence, his singular and inestimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of those mighty monarchs, who seemed to strive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedless, inconsiderate, capricious, impolitic; ever guided either by his passions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; sometimes actuated by friendship for foreign powers, oftener by resentment, seldom by his true interest: and thus, though he exulted in that superiority which his situation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own essential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom*.

Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 19, 20.

Both

Both Francis and Charles courted the friendship and alliance of Henry, as soon as their jarring interests portended an open rupture. The former prevailed on the king of England to pass over to Calais, in order for a personal interview between the two kings. In the month of June 1520, the sovereigns, attended with all the pomp and splendor which their two courts were capable of displaying, held friendly and unreserved intercourse together near the towns of Ardres and Guines. The king of England had a spacious house of wood and canvas erected, where he feasted the French monarch: on this fabric, the figure of an English archer was embroidered, with this motto: *Cui adhaereo præest*, "He prevails whom I favour*." Expressive of his own situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe.

Two years after these warm intimations of friendship had mutually passed, Henry renounced them all, and joining the emperor, sent over a powerful army to Calais under the command of the duke of Suffolk. At this time, hand guns, or muskets, were first introduced; whereby, in little more than a century after, the use of bows and arrows, in war was quite laid aside.

The superiority of the English on the seas at this time, is apparent, from a passage in lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. who relates that the English and French courts being each desirous to gain over to their interests the king of Scotland; one of the arguments used by the English Minister for this purpose was, that his nation was master of the seas, and thereby able to intercept all succours that could be brought to Scotland from any of their foreign allies; and the pretensions of

* Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 494.

France, in their reply, did not attempt to controvert this fact.

The earl of Surry, who was still high admiral, got together a large naval force, which was joined, at Southampton, by the emperor Charles V. in person, who had prepared a fleet of Netherland ships, consisting of one hundred and eighty sail. To prevent the inconveniences which might arise from this combined fleet acting under different commanders, the emperor appointed the earl of Surry to the command of his own fleet, which appointment was ratified by Henry VIII.*

The admiral proceeded with this force to the coast of Normandy; and, landing some forces near Cherburgh, spread devastation over the country. Shortly after, he sailed to the coast of Bretagne, where he landed a large body of troops, and took the town of Morlaix: whilst Sir William Fitzwilliam, the vice-admiral, with a strong squadron, rode triumphant on the seas, and protected the merchant-ships of the two nations. The English merchants, had great property in Morlaix, which was no more spared by the soldiers than the goods of the French. Having accomplished this business, the earl of Surry left the charge of the combined fleets to the vice-admiral, and sailed to Calais, where he took the command of the English army destined for the invasion of France: which, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to eighteen thousand men.

Henry, the next year, sent the earl of Surry, with an army into Scotland, which, without opposition, ravaged the Merse and Tiviot-dale, and burned the town of Jedburgh. At this time the Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them,

* Lediard's Naval History, p. 515.

nor any nobleman, of vigour and authority, qualified to assume the government; whence Henry determined to drive them to extremities, in hopes of obliging them, from the sense of their present weakness, to renounce their alliance with France, and to embrace that of England. He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage, between their young king and the lady Mary, heiress of England. The queen dowager, with her whole party, warmly recommended the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They alledged, that the interest of Scotland had been too long sacrificed to that of the French, who, whenever they were reduced to difficulties, called for their assistance, but were ready to abandon them, as soon as it was for their advantage to conclude a peace with England: that France was so distant, and so divided from them by the sea, that she could never send succours in time, sufficient to protect the Scots against the ravages of the neighbouring kingdom: that nature, by having placed the two British nations in the same island, had, in a manner, formed an alliance between them: it had given them the same language, manners, laws, and form of government, and thus prepared every thing for an intimate union. Hence, if national antipathies were abolished, which would soon be effected by a well-established peace; the two kingdoms, secured by the sea, and by their domestic force, could set all foreign enemies at defiance.

On the other hand, the partizans of the French alliance alledged, that the vicinity of England, and its superior power, rendered it impossible for a sincere and lasting confederacy to be formed with that hostile nation: that disputes would frequently arise between neighbouring states; and the more powerful would seize every frivolous pretence for oppressing the weaker, and reducing it to subjection:

that as the vicinity of England and France had kindled an almost perpetual war between those nations, if the Scots wished to maintain their independency, they ought to preserve their league with the latter, which balanced the force of the former: but if they deserted that ancient alliance, their inveterate enemies, the English, would soon invade them with a superior force, and reduce them to subjection; and that an insidious peace, by making the Scots forget the use of arms, would only serve to prepare the way for a more certain slavery.

As the arguments used by the French party were seconded by the prejudices of the people, they prevailed; and the duke of Albany, who had been invited over from France to take upon him the regency, at last appearing among them, was able to throw the balance on that side. By the authority of the states, he levied an army, in order to revenge the ravages committed by the English in the beginning of the campaign, and marched towards the borders: but while they were passing the Tweed, at the bridge of Melrois, such opposition was raised by the English party, that Albany thought proper to retreat, and marched downwards, with the bank of the Tweed on his right. Then fixing his camp opposite to Werk-Castle, sent over some troops to besiege that fortress, who made a breach, and even stormed some of the outworks; but hearing that an English army was approaching, and discouraged at the season being far advanced, he disbanded his army, and retired to Edinburgh; from whence he, soon after sailed to France, and never more returned to Scotland. The Scots were afterwards so weakened by their domestic factions, that, for several years, they were in no condition to give any disturbance to England; by which means Henry was left at leisure to prosecute his designs on France.

The

The extreme avarice of Henry VII. was succeeded by as extreme profusion in his son Henry VIII. so that, in little more than ten years, this prodigal prince had scandalously dissipated that immense wealth which he had inherited from his father: his exhausted coffers, therefore, disabled him from prosecuting the war which he had entered into with France, with vigour, and to effect; and, after four years languid operations, he began to discover, that he was only labouring to aggrandize a monarch, already too powerful, and who aspired to give law to Europe.

In the year 1527, a treaty of perpetual peace was concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I. wherein the latter bound himself to pay Henry a perpetual annuity of fifty thousand crowns; and also as much salt of Brouage, in Saintonge, annually, as should amount to fifteen thousand crowns more; to be delivered on the spot, to such as Henry should empower to receive it. In return for this yearly tribute, the king of England agreed, finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France*. Soon after the ratification of this treaty, cardinal Wolsey went over to France, and had a conference with that king.

Henry had now been married eighteen years, to Catharine of Arragon, his brother's widow, by whom he had three children; only one of whom, the princess Mary, was living. The queen was six years older than the king; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless life and deportment, to render her person disgusting to her husband. The succession too of the crown, was a consideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XIV. p. 218.

was called in question, and it was apprehended, that if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the king of Scotland, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might again plunge the kingdom into civil broils. The national miseries arising out of a disputed title, were too recent not to make a great impression on the minds of men, and render the people universally desirous of any event, which might obviate so mighty an evil. Thus was the king impelled, both by his private passions, and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his marriage, which was generally esteemed unlawful. But an incentive, stronger perhaps than the public welfare, or conscientious scruples, at length urged him to obtain a dissolution of the marriage tie by which he was held. Among the maids of honor in the suite of the queen, was Anne Boleyn, the daughter of a gentleman of distinction, who, though not ennobled himself, was allied to all the principal nobility. The king was struck with the beauty, youth, and accomplishments of this lady: after several unsuccessful attempts to triumph over her virtue, he, at length, entertained the thought of raising her to the throne. Inflamed with this new passion, he resolved to apply to Clement VII. the then pope, to annul the bull, issued by his predecessor Julius II. which had permitted him to marry Catharine, and to declare that such an alliance was contrary to all laws, both divine and human. This application extremely embarrassed the pontiff: queen Catharine was aunt to the emperor Charles V. whose resentment he dreaded to kindle, and farther, by setting aside the bull of a former pope, he aimed a dreadful blow at the fundamental doctrine of papal infallibility. On the other hand, Henry was his protector and friend: the dominions of England brought large revenues

to

to his treasury; and the king of France, not long before, had obtained a divorce from Rome, in circumstances somewhat similar. To avoid the inconveniences which a decision, either way, would bring after it, he practised every method to spin out the negotiation, in hopes that the king's passion would not continue during the tedious embarrassment of an ecclesiastical process. Clement was however, mistaken in his conclusions. Henry had learnt to argue as well as his holiness, and presently strengthened his cause by many texts of scripture; and shewed a disposition to continue his allegiance to Rome, no longer than that see coincided with his passions and his politics. The king even proposed to his holiness, whether, if he was denied putting away his present queen, he might not have a dispensation to marry another wife, during the life of queen Catharine.

Whilst this important business was negotiating at Rome, the king expected that his favourite, Wolsey, should heartily concur in furthering his views; but that minister found himself equally embarrassed with the pope, in the part which it was prudent for him to take. On the one hand, both gratitude and interest prompted him to serve the king his master, who had heaped favours on his head, and on whose smiles he still depended: on the other hand, it was equally dangerous for him to act counter to the designs of the pope. In this perplexity he chose to stand neuter; and so far abated the wonted haughtiness of his deportment, that in every thing he yielded to his colleague, cardinal Campegio, who had been sent from Italy by the pope, to discuss this important matter in England. The king, whose natural impetuosity of temper had risen to all the height of extravagant self-will, by a long course of abject compli-

compliance with his wishes, was highly disgusted at this temporizing neutrality of his minister.

In order to amuse his impatience and divert his chagrin, he made a progress through part of his kingdom; and, on his return, lay at Waltham-Cross, at the house of a gentleman, who had committed the education of his two sons to Thomas Cranmer, a doctor in theology, who had been a professor at Cambridge, but was deprived of that distinction by marrying, contrary to the institutions of the canon law, which enjoin celibacy. He was eminent for his learning, piety, and moderation; and secretly favoured the doctrines of Luther, whose writings he had read in Germany. At supper he was desired by Fox, the king's almoner, and Gardiner, then secretary of state, to give his sentiments upon the divorce; and being pressed on the subject, he proposed, that the king should procure the opinions of all the civilians and theologists in the several universities of Christendom. If they agreed to approve of the marriage with Catharine, his scruples of conscience would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned in Europe. When this plan of conduct was laid before Henry, he certified his approbation, by exclaiming, "Aye, now we have the right sown by the ear." He desired to converse with this man, and was so well pleased with his discourse, that he commanded him to follow his court, and ever after consulted him on all emergencies. Henry, having now found one for his purpose, immediately deprived Wolsey of the great seal, which he conferred on Sir Thomas More, who had distinguished himself for his learning and probity.

The

The king's resentment against the cardinal did not stop here: the attorney-general was presently ordered to prefer an information against him in the court of King's-Bench, accusing him of having violated a statute of *præmunire* *. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and submitted himself to the king's mercy. He was declared out of the king's protection; his goods and chattels were pronounced forfeited to the king; and his palace of York-House, afterwards known by the name of Whitehall, was seized for the king's use, together with all the rich furniture, and wealth he had amassed. Humbled by this reverse of fortune, he petitioned the king for a protection of his person, which was instantly granted, together with a free pardon. Hereby he was restored to the archbishopric of York, and see of Winchester: so that it should seem to have been the king's design at that time, merely to humble the pride, but not to ruin the fortune, of his old favourite. But however moderate the king's disposition was, yet a falling minister is sure to have a legion of foes to help forward his destruction. An impeachment of high-treason was brought into

* Various acts of parliament were passed, with a view to check the progress of papal usurpations in England. The first statute against papal provisions was made in the 35th year of Edward I. which was followed by others in the reign of Edward III. and his successor Richard II. Another law bearing the same tendency was enacted in the time of Henry IV. The original meaning of the offence called *præmunire*, against which these statutes were levelled, was, the introducing a foreign power in the land, and creating *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to papal process, which constitutionally belonged to the king alone. All persons so offending were put out of the king's protection; their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use, and themselves liable to answer for the offence to the king and his council. Thus it appears, that the exorbitant power claimed and exercised in England by the pope, was too heavy for our ancestors to bear, even in the days of blind zeal. This offence received its name from the words of the writ, preparatory to the prosecution thereof. *Premunire facias* A. B. (a barbarous word for *præmonere*) forewarn A. B. that he appear, &c.—*Blackstone's Commentaries*, b. IV. c. 3.

the house of lords, in which he was charged with having abused his legatine power, acted tyrannically in his office of chancellor; expedited divers orders of the utmost importance and executed treaties, without the king's knowledge and concurrence; behaved despotically on many occasions; more like an eastern sovereign, than an English minister; practised extortion, bribery, and all manner of corruption; sought to equal, and even prefer himself to his majesty, by writing, in orders and instructions, *Ego et rex meus*, "I and my king;" with many other charges, amounting, in the whole, to forty-four articles. This impeachment was carried through the house of lords; but, in its progress through the commons, Thomas Cromwell, who had been a domestic of the cardinal, opposed it with such ability and address, that the charge of high treason was rejected. As Wolsey yet enjoyed the archbishopric of York, this ostentatious man, even shattered as his fortunes were, resolved to maintain the ceremony of his instalment there, with a magnificence little suited to his circumstances at that time; but while he was preparing for those splendors which he loved, by one of those sudden caprices which frequently influence the conduct of kings, he was, by his royal master's command, arrested by the earl of Northumberland, on a charge of high-treason. The prelate, at first, refused to acknowledge the competency of the authority with which the earl was armed; but finding him determined to execute his commission, regardless of the sacred functions which Wolsey bore, the cardinal saw that it was ineffectual to oppose his ecclesiastical rights to the power of the state; he, therefore, surrendered himself a prisoner, and sat forward on his way to London; there to appear as a criminal, where he had formerly acted as a king. In his way thither, he staid for
some

some time at the earl of Shrewsbury's, at Sheffield-Castle, where he was taken ill ; not without strong suspicions of his having poisoned himself. Being brought forward from thence, with much difficulty he reached Leicester-Abbey, where, feeling his end approaching, he sent for Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, who attended him, to whom he uttered his dying emotions ; among which was this memorable expression : " Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have abandoned my grey hairs." Soon after which he expired *. Wolsey, by the favour of his prince, which he well knew how to avail himself of, rose to a height of power and grandeur, which no other ecclesiastic, under the degree of pope, had ever reached : he had strong parts, and an unmeasurable excess of pride and ambition.

Soon after the death of this wonderful man, Henry, by the assistance of Cranmer, caused his marriage with the queen to be canvassed, in the several universities of Europe : and whilst he was using every means, both direct and indirect, to obtain suffrages, the emperor was no less active in biasing the decision of the learned referees. The king of England, however, at length prevailed : probably his largesses were greater than those of his antagonist, as his happiness more particularly depended on the opinion obtained. All the colleges of Italy and France, unanimously declared the marriage unlawful ; and that Julius II. had no power to render it valid. What is extremely memorable, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge hesitated, more than any other, to concur in this opinion ; but, at length, they joined their authority to the rest.

* November 28, 1530.

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Thus

Thus fortified, the king resolved to oppose even the pope himself: therefore, without applying for any farther dispensation, he proceeded to annul his marriage with queen Catharine; and Cranmer, now become an archbishop, pronounced the divorce*. Ann Boleyn, from that time, enjoyed all the distinctions of queen-consort; her marriage had been celebrated some months before†.

These violent measures were highly resented at Rome; and whilst the pope, and his conclave of cardinals, were denouncing excommunication against Henry, and confirming the validity of his marriage with Catharine, the king of England, who had the parliament at his devotion, was taking measures for throwing off all subjection to the church of Rome. The people were soothed into acquiescence, by a prospect of being rid of the grievous exactions levied on them, for the use of the Holy See; and the general dislike at having Italian bishops invested with the church preferments of England, gave energy to the measures which foreboded the exclusion of these foreigners: in short, all things conspired to co-operate with the views of the court; the king of England, therefore, was declared supreme head of the church of England; first by the clergy, and then by the parliament. The tribute of peter-pence was abolished, and the right of collating to ecclesiastical benefices was transferred, from the pope to the crown. The people took an oath, called the oath of supremacy, which, at once, overthrew all those claims of the pope which had subsisted for ages: none but those who held to religious houses, seemed dissatisfied with the innovation. They who had thought it dangerous to break with the pope, were now con-

* An. Dom. 1533. † Queen Catharine lived three years after this degradation, and died at Kimbolton in Huntingdonshire, in the sixtieth year of her age.

vinced;

vinced that it might be done with impunity; and it was soon perceived, that all authority, which is not supported by power, is nothing but an empty name.

But though Henry had now separated himself from Rome, yet he was by no means willing to be a follower of Luther. The invocation of saints was not abolished by him, but only restrained: he ordered the Bible to be translated into the vulgar tongue, but not to be put into the hands of the laity. It was a capital crime to believe in the pope's supremacy; and equally heinous to be of the reformed religion, as practised in Germany. The king's opinions in religion, were delivered in a law, which, from its horrid consequences, was termed the bloody statute. It ordained, that whoever, by word or writing, denied transubstantiation, or maintained, that the communion, in both kinds, was necessary; that it was lawful for priests to marry; that vows of chastity might innocently be broken; that private masses were unprofitable; or that auricular confession was unnecessary, should be burnt, or hanged, as the court should determine*.

The fires of Smithfield now began to be kindled, and merciless bigotry stalked abroad, under the sanction of a graceless king. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, chancellor; the latter of whom, for talents and learning surpassed all his contemporaries, were executed, for their adherence to the church of Rome: whilst great numbers steadily maintained the doctrines of the reformation, amidst the most excruciating torments; and the chancellor himself, was so fatally tinctured with the prejudices of the times, as to consign to torture and death, whilst he held the

* Goldsmith.

seals, many, whose virtues reflected honour on human nature.— By what sanguinary steps has this country risen to civilization and refinement!

By the innovations that had taken place in the ancient religion, the monasteries became subject to the king's visitation; and his profusion rendering him constantly poor, the wealth of these religious establishments was an alluring bait to his rapacity. A new office was created, under the title of vicar-general; and Thomas lord Cromwell, who was now the king's chief favourite, was the first appointed to fill it. The chief business of this officer was to enquire into the conduct of the religious recluses of both sexes, who were devoted to a monastic life. This visitation laid open such scenes of scandalous lewdness, and abandoned profligacy, as filled the whole nation with disgust and abhorrence; and, in order to pave the way for the projected subversion of such institutions, the facts which had been brought to light, were not only made as public as possible, but aggravated by every means that interested malevolence could suggest. The lesser monasteries, whose revenues did not amount to two hundred pounds a year, were first sacrificed to the king's exigencies, under the specious plea of reformation. These monastic orders were suppressed by act of parliament; and in the year 1536, three hundred and seventy-six of these houses were put down, and their revenues, which amounted to thirty-two thousand pounds a year, were granted to the king, besides their plate, goods, and chattels, which were computed at one hundred thousand pounds more: and so absolute was Henry's authority, that it does not appear that any opposition was made to this law. A court was also erected for the management of these funds, termed the court of augmentation of the king's revenue.

The

The king had now been three years married to Ann Boleyn, in which time the ardour of his love had not only cooled, but was succeeded by loathing and disgust. The queen's enemies took care to strengthen this disposition in the king, by representing his consort as guilty of incontinence; and an unguarded levity, which naturally adhered to her, was easily passed upon a gloomy tyrant, for a vicious forwardness. Such ideas, once raised in the king's breast, soon brought the innocent queen to the block; for a jury of peers were easily found to gratify the king's humour.

Henry ordered his parliament to pass an act of divorce, between the sentence and execution of the queen: thus to bastardize Elizabeth, the only child he had by her, as he had already bastardized Mary, his only child by queen Catharine. The day after her execution, he married Jane Seymour, who died the year following, in child birth of a son *, who received the name of Edward.

The birth of a son, and the suppression of a rebellion which had broke out in the north, excited by the severity with which the consciences of men were shackled, increased the stability of Henry's throne. Urged by his avarice, or rather by his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion, he determined to prosecute the design he had as yet only began to execute; the suppression of all the monasteries in England. At different times six hundred and forty-five monasteries were seized upon; twenty-eight of which had abbots, who enjoyed seats in parliament: besides ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries †,

* October 10, 1537.

† A chantry was a chapel with a particular altar, in a cathedral, &c. endowed with a revenue for the support of one, or more priests, to say mass daily, for the souls of the founders, or for such others as they appointed.

and

and free chapels *, with one hundred and ten hospitals; the revenues of which amounted, in the whole, to one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds. As the ruin of the monasteries had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had prudently taken care to secrete, before hand, most of their stock, furniture, and plate; whence the spoils of the great monasteries, did not bear, in these respects, any proportion to those of the lesser.

To reconcile the people to these great innovations, they were told that the king would, from thenceforth, have no occasion to raise taxes, as the revenues of the abbey-lands alone, would be sufficient to defray the whole charges of government, in war as well as in peace: and in order to interest the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures, he gave the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers; and in these liberalities the king was so profuse, that he is said to have given the revenue of a convent to reward a woman for making a pudding that pleased him. On the other hand, he settled pensions on the abbots and priors, in proportion to their former revenues, or their supposed merit. To each monk he granted an annual pension of eight marks: he likewise erected six new bishoprics, viz. Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Gloucester, and Chester; all of which, except the first, still subsist. By these means, the revenue accruing from the seizure of the church lands, fell much short of the estimated account.

During these transactions, Henry contracted a new marriage with Anne of Cleves †, having been enamoured of her picture; in which the painter, (Hans Holben) had been lavish of his flattery and

* Free chapels were endowed for much the same purpose as the chantries, but were independent on any church. † An. Dom. 1539.

regardless of truth. The king, on seeing her, swore she was a great Flanders mare, and declared, that he never could bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant, and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. Notwithstanding, political motives prevailed with him to marry her; but soon growing disgusted with his mate, he once more resorted to parliament, to have his marriage set aside. Among other reasons given to invalidate his espousals, the king declared, that he had not given an inward consent to the marriage, without which he affirmed, that his promises could not be obligatory: he added, that as he was resolved not to consummate the marriage, and at the same time wished to have legitimate issue, it was proper to give him a queen, by whom he might obtain this end. These reasons were admitted as valid; virtue and justice had been long banished from Henry's servile parliament.

Being thus absolved from his plighted troth to Anne Cleves, he soon after married a fifth wife, who was Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk*. The king seemed well satisfied with his new choice, inasmuch as to direct the bishop of Lincoln to draw up a particular form of thanksgiving, for the blessings he enjoyed in a faithful wife. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderness. It was soon after fully proved, that she had led a very dissolute life before her marriage with the king: the queen herself was, at length, brought to confess her criminality before marriage; but at the same time insisted, that she had never been false to the king's bed; but as she

* An. Dom. 1540.

had taken one of her old paramours into her service, besides admitting of indecent freedoms from others, her assertion seemed to deserve little credit; and the king was not of a humour to distinguish between these degrees of guilt*; she was therefore beheaded on Tower-hill. The next year, he, a sixth time, took a wife, Catharine Par, widow of Nevil, lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and well disposed to the doctrines of the reformation.

Henry had taken great umbrage at his nephew James V. of Scotland, and having published a manifesto, setting forth the grounds of his quarrel, he sent the duke of Norfolk, whom he called "the scourge of the Scotch," at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, into Scotland, whilst James led an army of thirty thousand men to oppose their progress. The duke of Norfolk thereupon retreated back into England, and James, impatient of distinguishing himself by some signal feat in arms, prepared to follow him; but the leading nobility being disinclined to undertake the enterprise, his strength became much reduced, and a fatal defeat, which a part of his army met with at Solway-Frith, threw his affairs into great embarrassment, which rendered him the prey of a fixed and rooted melancholy, that soon after terminated his life. When he was near his end, he was informed that his queen was brought to bed, before which event he had no issue; and being told that had been delivered of a daughter †, he turned himself in his bed, saying, "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with one; many miseries await this poor kingdom: Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms, or by marriage."

The opposition which Henry met with afterwards in Scotland, from the intrigues of France, deter-

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. 218.
 687, 1742.

† 14th Decem-

mined him, once more to join with the emperor against the French. In the year 1544, Sir John Wallop was sent into France, whilst a considerable force was prepared against Scotland, under the earl of Hertford: at the same time, Dudley, lord Lisle, had the command of a fleet, consisting of near two hundred sail, who taking the land-forces on board, proceeded to Leith, which he reduced; and the army then marched to Edinburgh, which being incapable of making any defence, was plundered by the troops. The earl of Hertford spread devastation far and wide; after which he returned to England. In the same summer Henry passed over to Calais, with an army of thirty thousand men; whilst the emperor Charles V. with an army of sixty thousand men, was entering France from the Netherlands. Two such powerful enemies seemed to threaten that kingdom with the total subversion of its government: but no further advantages were derived to the English, than the reduction of Boulogne by the duke of Suffolk, assisted by lord Lisle, who, during the siege, blocked up the town by sea. The admiral was invested with the government of the place, and the troops returned to England. The next year, a French fleet, consisting of two hundred sail, besides gallies, made several attempts on the English coast. It failed to the isle of Wight, where it found the English fleet laying at anchor in St. Helen's Road: it consisted not of above one hundred sail, and the commander thought it most adviseable to keep his station, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels of the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the sinking of the Mary Rose, one of the largest ships of the English fleet, the damage, on either side, was inconsiderable*. Rapin styles

* Belesair, Mem. du Bellay.

this the greatest effort France had ever made at sea. Naval historians think, that ships of war were not, at this time, provided with gun-port holes, as at present; but that a few cannon were placed on the upper decks; also on their prow and poop: fighting with cannon on ship-board being just then introduced. The design of this naval armament of France was to prevent the English throwing succours into Boulogne, which Francis determined to attempt the recovery of; but herein he was unsuccessful; and in the year 1546, the king of England concluded a peace both with France and Scotland.

Henry had ever been a tyrant; but as he grew into years, and became the prey of diseases, his natural fierceness and implacability acted as corrosive poison to his own peace of mind, and brought down inevitable destruction on those that fell under his displeasure. The most illustrious victim to his caprice was the duke of Norfolk; who, during the whole of this long reign, and even towards the conclusion of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greatest subject in the kingdom; and as we have shewn, during the life-time of his father, and whilst earl of Surry, had rendered considerable services to his prince. Fortune seemed to have conspired with his personal merit to raise him to the highest eminence: from the favours heaped on him by the crown, he had acquired an immense estate; the king had successively married two of his nieces; and Henry's natural son, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter: besides his descent from the ancient family of Mowbrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had espoused a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was descended, by a female line, from Edward III. And as he was supposed to adhere, though secretly, to the Romish church, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the Catholic party. All these circumstances,
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in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealousy of Henry; and he foresaw danger, during his son's minority, both to the public tranquillity, and to the new-fangled system of religion, from the attempts of so potent a subject. Influenced by such considerations, and farther piqued at the unguarded conduct of the young earl of Surry, the duke's son; and perhaps influenced by that old disgust, with which the ill-conduct of Catharine Howard had inspired him against the whole family; he directed that both the father and son should be arrested and committed prisoners to the Tower. It was no difficult matter for Henry, whose caprices were submitted to as though they bore the sanction of laws, to find colourable pretexts for the execution of these two obnoxious noblemen. It was charged against young Surry, that he had used the arms of Edward the Confessor in his escutcheon; and the duke, his father, was accused of having left a blank space in his own arms, where these royal bearings might be inserted. Surry suffered death on Tower-Hill, where his two royal kinswomen bled, to gratify the cruel humour of the tyrant: a warrant was also dispatched to the lieutenant of the Tower, for the beheading of the duke of Norfolk in two days; but in that intermediate time, the monster, who had, all his life through, been prodigal of his subjects blood, himself paid the debt of nature*.

No age, or nation, perhaps, was ever visited with a more remorseless tyrant than Henry VIII. Throughout his long and oppressive reign, his will supplied the place of law. To gratify whatever caprice was predominant torture and death continually followed in his train: his laws, like those of Draco, may be said to have been written in blood. He caused two of his queens, as we have seen, to suffer death on a scaffold; one of them for no other

* An. Dom. 1547.

crime, than having too much vivacity for the morose humour of a man, habituated to deliberate and wanton murders. Providence, by this reign, shews how inscrutable are her ways : a happy concurrence of events converted the acts of despotism of this monarch, into a foundation for the religious liberty which this country at present enjoys ; and the natural spirit of the nation expanded itself, even under the restraints of tyranny. Henry VIII. reigned thirty-seven years and nine months : and died at the age of fifty-five.

The most material naval and commercial events in this reign, not already taken notice of, are the following :

We find, by the most laborious Hackluyt, in his second volume *, that there was some commerce from England, and in English ships, at this time, to the Mediterranean Sea, as far as the Isle of Chio, in the Levant. The ships employed in this trade, sailed from the ports of London, Southampton, and Bristol, to Sicily and Candia : frequently touching at Cyprus ; also at Tripoli and Barutti, in Syria. The articles of merchandize which they exported to these places, were, woollen cloths, calf-skins, &c. in exchange for which they received silks, camblets, rhubarb ; Malmsey, Muscadell, and other wines ; oils, cotton-wool, Turkey carpets ; gauls and spices from India. Besides the trade carried on to these places in English bottoms, many foreign ships were freighted from England, and on account of English merchants. A voyage to the Levant was, at this time, looked upon as very dangerous, and was always found to be very tedious, it generally taking up eleven or twelve months.

The first commercial treaty entered into between a Christian monarch and the Ottoman Porte, was concluded in 1535, between Francis I. of France, and Solyman II. surnamed the Magnificent ; whereby

his most Christian majesty obtained many commercial advantages for his subjects ; and a French consul was permitted to reside in the several ports of Turkey, both for civil and criminal affairs ; and the private exercise of their religion was allowed to the French. These privileges France enjoyed exclusively for some time ; and no other European nation was allowed to resort to Turkey, unless under the protection of France, or carrying its colours. Next to them the Venetian state (the sworn foe of the empire of Mahomet) obtained a similar commercial treaty *. And some years after the English †. The Hollanders afterwards were admitted into the like bond of amity ; and last of all, the Genoese, about half a century after ‡.

Some private merchants, being patronized by the king, fitted out two ships in 1536, in order to discover a north-west passage to China. In their route they touched at Cape Breton and Newfoundland ; and though they failed in making the discovery on which they were bent, yet this voyage served to promote the very beneficial fishery of the English on the Banks of Newfoundland §.

In the year 1513, Henry VIII. built a magazine and store-house for the royal navy, at Deptford, and fortified Gravesend and Tilbury.

To repair the loss of the Regent, another ship of larger dimensions was built, named the Henry Grace de Dieu||.

In Hackluyt's third volume ¶, he mentions a voyage made in the year 1516, by Sir Thomas Port, vice-admiral of England, and Sebastian Cabot, from England to the coasts of Brazil, and other parts of South-America, by order of the king ; but gives no particulars of it. It appears, that

* Anno 1580.
 † Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 367.
 ‡ 1665.

§ An-
 ¶ Hall's Chron. ¶ Page
 498.

about this time there was a considerable woollen manufacture carried on in Spain, which has since fallen into utter decay, on account of the quantity of specie brought into the kingdom from the New World, and the vast defection of the most useful subjects from Spain, who settled in their American colonies.

In the year 1531, the king published a proclamation, obliging foreign merchants resorting to England with their merchandize, to lay out the money they received in England for their merchandize, in the commodities of England*. A similar statute had been enacted in the reign of Richard III.

According to lord Herbert, great ordnance of brass, such as cannon and culverins, was first cast in England in the year 1535; before which time they had always been imported from foreign parts.

In the year 1544, Henry VIII. built Dover pier, at the expence of sixty-five thousand pounds,

In the year 1546, the first law was enacted, to regulate the interest of money, at that time called usury; the distinction between equitable and exorbitant interest not then subsisting; but all interest, however moderate, for the loan of money, being decryed by the clergy; but by this statute, ten per cent. per annum, for money borrowed, was declared legal. In the reign of Edward VI. this act was repealed †, and the taking of any kind of interest for money declared unlawful, and fine and imprisonment decreed for such offences.

In this reign lived Thomas Sulmo, a celebrated geographer and antiquarian. Also George Lilly, son of William, the famous grammarian, who lived some time at Rome, with cardinal Pole, and published the first exact map that was ever drawn, of the island of Great Britain. ‡.

* Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

‡ Nicholson's Historical Library.

† Anno 1552.

Henry VIII. made his will near a month before his death; by which he ratified the provision of the parliament, respecting the succession; leaving the crown first to prince Edward; then to the lady Mary; next to the lady Elizabeth: the two princesses he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry without the consent of the council which he appointed for the government of his minor son. On failure in his own children, he settled the succession on Frances Brandon, marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of his sister, the French queen-dowager; after her, on Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, the second daughter. In passing over the posterity of the queen of Scots, his elder sister, he availed himself of the power invested in him by parliament; but as he subjoined, that, after the failure of the posterity of the queen-dowager, the crown should descend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a question, whether these words could be applied to the Scottish line? It was thought that these princes were not the next heirs after the house of Suffolk, but before that house; and that Henry, by expressing himself in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scotch, had irritated him extremely against that nation; and he maintained to the last, that character of violence and caprice, by which his life had been so much distinguished. Another circumstance of his will may suggest the same reflection, with regard to the strange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: he left money for masses to be said, for delivering his soul from purgatory; and though he destroyed all those institutions, established by his ancestors and others, for the benefit of their souls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful, in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his latter

Vol. I. O o years,

years, he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care, at least, of his own future repose, and to adhere to the safer side of the question*.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 266. See his will in Fuller, Heylin, and Rymer, Vol. XV. p. 110. "There is," says Mr. Hume, "no reasonable ground to suspect its authenticity."

C H A P. III.

The Reign of Edward VI.—Regency—Lord Hertford Protector, and created Duke of Somerset—Progress of the Reformation—Protestants settle in England—War with Scotland—Lord Clinton commands the Fleet which appears before Leith—Battle of Pinkey—The Whole Naval Force of Scotland destroyed—Peace with Scotland—Foreign Protestants settle in England—Conduct of Lord Seymour, Lord High Admiral—Dudley, Earl of Warwick—Attainder and Execution of Lord Seymour—French make a Descent on the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, but are totally defeated by Commodore Winter—New Ministry

Ministry—Revocation of Grants to the Merchants of the Steel-yard—Commercial Treaty with Sweden—Piracies committed by the Flemings and French—Sebastian Cabot—Russian Company—Association for the Discovery of unknown Countries.

EDWARD VI. Henry the Eighth's son, by Jane Seymour, his third wife, was only nine years of age when he succeeded to the crown, on the death of his father*: by whose will a regency was appointed, consisting of sixteen persons; among whom were Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury; the earl of Hertford, chamberlain; and viscount Lisle, admiral. To these were added twelve counsellors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice, when any affair was laid before them. It was immediately found necessary to select from the body which composed the regency, one, who should bear the title of protector of the realm, and who should be invested with the exterior marks of supremacy; should receive foreign ambassadors, and transmit instructions to the English ministers at foreign courts; but who should be subject, at the same time, to the controul of the whole body. The earl of Hertford, who was king Edward's maternal uncle, was chosen to this station. Several new dignities were conferred on this occasion: the protector was created duke of Somerset, marshal, and lord-treasurer; the viscount Lisle, earl of Warwick, who resigned his office of admiral, in which he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Seymour, brother to the protector, who became lord Seymour of Sudley.

The protector, who was a favourer of the doctrines of Luther, instilled the same sentiments into the young king, whose mother had embraced the

* An. Dom. 1547.

same opinions. One of the early acts of the regency, therefore, was, to cause a general visitation of the churches to be made, which produced a reformation of numberless abuses, that were almost held sacred by prescription. It was now left to every one's choice, either to go to confession, which had, till then, been esteemed an indispensable duty, or to neglect that practice. It was directed, that all images should be taken out of churches; priests were allowed to marry; the old form of mass was abolished; and a new liturgy composed, which has undergone but few alterations, quite down to the present time. The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any further advances towards reformation, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. This prelate expatiated on the great wisdom and learning of the late king, and insisted on the propriety of persevering in the ecclesiastical model formed by that prince, at least until the present king's majority should arrive. He defended the use of images, which were now openly attacked by the protestants; representing them as serviceable in maintaining a sense of religion among the illiterate multitude*. He even condescended to write an apology for holy water, which bishop Ridley had decryed in a sermon; and he maintained, that by the power of the Almighty, it might be rendered an instrument of doing good; as much as the shadow of St. Peter, the hem of Christ's garment, or the spittle and clay laid on the eyes of the blind†.

The duke of Somerset no sooner found himself settled in his new dignity, than he made such preparations for a war with Scotland, as indicated his intention of entirely reducing the country, rather than to bring about a marriage between Mary queen of Scots, and the young king Edward, which was the

* Fox, Vol. II. p. 712.

† Ibid. p. 724.

avowed object *. This army, consisting of 10,000 foot, and 6000 horse, together with a fine train of artillery, was commanded by the protector in person; whilst his brother, the admiral, collected a fleet of sixty-five sail, thirty-five of which were ships of force; the rest store-ships and tenders. The command of this naval armament was entrusted to lord Clinton, who was admiral of the North-Seas, and Sir William Woodhouse, vice-admiral. They appeared before Leith much about the same time that the English army entered Scotland by land.

It had been agreed in 1543, that the infant queen, then two years of age, should remain in Scotland till she was ten years old, and then should be sent to England to be educated, and that she should be espoused to prince Edward. That the kingdom of Scotland, notwithstanding the union thus formed with England, should retain its laws and privileges: but nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Scottish regency than the fulfilling of this treaty.

The protector, before he commenced any act of hostility, published a manifesto, shewing his reasons for these proceedings, and inviting the government of Scotland to accede to an alliance, which promised such advantages to both parties. But these conciliatory measures were rendered inefficacious by the queen-dowager, who was devoted both to the interest of France, and to the catholic religion. The earl of Arran, governor of Scotland, collected together the whole force of the kingdom; so that he found himself at the head of an army which greatly outnumbered the English. He encamped within four miles of Edinburgh; whilst the duke of Somerset approached within sight of his camp. On surveying the situation which the Scotch general had chosen, he found it unadvisable

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 290.

to attack the enemy; he, therefore, wrote a letter to the governor, in which he offered to evacuate the kingdom, as well as to repair all the damages he had committed, provided the Scotch would stipulate not to contract the queen to any foreign prince, but to keep her at home, until she arrived at years capable of choosing a husband. The governor, who was entirely in the French interest, shewed this letter to none but his own creatures, who advised him, since he had a numerous army, with the flower of the nobility in the field, not to listen to any conditions of peace, but to force the English to a battle. Inflamed also by their priests, who had come to the camp in great numbers, they believed that the English were detestable heretics, abhorred of God, and exposed to divine vengeance; and that no success could ever crown their arms. These enthusiasts were confirmed in their fond conceit, when they saw the protector change his ground, and move towards the sea: nor did they any longer doubt, that he intended to embark his army, and make his escape on board the ships, which at that very time moved into the bay, opposite to him *. Bent upon cutting off his retreat, they quitted their camp, and passing the river Elke, advanced into the plain. This rash conduct brought on a decisive engagement, on the 10th of September, 1547; which, in some English histories, is styled the battle of Muffelburgh; but the Scotch writers call it the battle of Pinkey †, from a nobleman's seat in that neighbourhood. It proved fatal to the Scotch, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers; [their army amounting to upwards of thirty thousand men;] for such was their eagerness to engage, that they neglected all the precautions usually taken with regard to ground, and every other

* Hollingshed, p. 985.

† Buchanan, Lesley, Keith.

circumstance. And so strongly were they actuated by the delusion that had seized them, that they exposed themselves to the fire of the English fleet, which swept away great numbers. In this action fourteen thousand Scots were slain, and eight hundred noblemen and gentlemen were made prisoners *. From the field of battle to Edinburgh, for the space of five miles, the whole ground was strowed with dead bodies. The priests and the monks, above all, received no quarter; and the English made sport of slaughtering men, who, from their extreme zeal and animosity, had engaged in an enterprize so ill besitting their profession. Few victories have been more decisive, or gained with less loss to the conquerors. There fell not two hundred of the English. After this victory the duke of Somerset spread devastation round the country; but being pressed to return to England, on account of the posture of affairs there, he did not push his advantages to the utmost, but soon quitted the country.

The fleet, under lord Clinton, continued longer on that coast, having no less an object in view, than to destroy the whole naval force of Scotland; and the admiral fully accomplished his purpose; laying all the sea-ports in ashes; and he is said not to have left one ship of force in the whole kingdom †.

The next year the high admiral, lord Seymour, with a stout fleet, cruised along the coasts of Scotland, to prevent the refitting of the harbours, and to annoy the country by farther depredations: but in this expedition he proved rather unsuccessful; for though he twice landed a large body of troops, yet he was as often repulsed ‡. The great hardships which the people had endured, rendered them desperate; so that, notwithstanding the vast

* Burnet, Godwin.

† Keith, Hayward.

‡ Idem.

expences England had been at, and the complete victory which had been gained, the queen of Scots found means to pass over into France, thereby baffling all the views of the English regency; and the French pouring great succours into Scotland, the English, after two years ineffectual conflict, were obliged to agree to terms of peace; France alone having obtained her ends by this destructive contest; the young queen being contracted in marriage to the dauphin*.

The national benefits produced by granting a latitude of opinion in religious matters, already began to discover themselves; for Edward VI. by rendering his kingdom an asylum for persecuted foreign protestants, invited over many thousands, who settled in different parts of England; particularly at London, Southwark, Canterbury, Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Norwich, and Colchester, where they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion; and, in return for the protection they received, introduced many useful manufactures.—A conscientious adherence to religious principles, has the most effectual tendency to introduce sobriety, industry, and frugality.—When the bloody arm of persecution was made bare, during the short reign of queen Mary, those poor people were forced to abandon their dwellings, and secrete themselves in foreign parts: at her death they returned to their former abodes, and found a permanent establishment: they consisted of Walloons, Germans, French, Italians, Polanders, and Switzers; besides which there was, among the refugees, a congregation of protestant Spaniards in London†.

A violent misunderstanding had broke out between the protector, and his brother the admiral, by which the national affairs sustained great injury.

* Stowe, Speed.

† Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 380.

The admiral was a man of boundless ambition, and possessed greater talents for government than his brother, though he was not equally popular. He had married the queen-dowager (formerly Catharine Par); almost immediately on the death of Henry VIII. This match gave great offence to the duchess of Somerset, who could not brook, that the wife of her husband's younger brother, should have the precedency of her: she, therefore, took every opportunity of exciting the protector's resentments against lord Seymour*, whose turbulent and intriguing spirit gave a validity to the representations of his enemies. His spouse, the queen-dowager, dying in childbed, his ambitious views began to enlarge: the lady Elizabeth had then reached her sixteenth year, and the admiral sat about obtaining that princess in marriage. His suit was not rejected by the lady, but an insurmountable bar was laid in the way, by the will of the late king, which excluded both his daughters from the succession, if they married without the consent of the regency; and this was impossible to be obtained. Still eager, however, to accomplish his designs, he seems to have aimed at subverting his brother's administration, and advancing himself upon its ruins. The protector was not ignorant of the mischiefs plotting by his brother, but refrained from having recourse to violent measures, until he found all friendly remonstrances and endeavours ineffectual; and even, at last, such was the moderation of his nature, that the instigations of the earl of Warwick drew on the admiral the resentment of the duke.

It was the interest of the earl of Warwick to foment the quarrel between the brothers; and in his endeavours to effect this mischief, he was as suc-

* Hayward, p. 81.

cessful as he could wish. This nobleman was the son of that instrument of Henry the Seventh's extortions, Edmund Dudley. Henry VIII. perhaps sensible of the illegality of the sentence which had deprived the father of life, caused young Dudley to be relieved from the attainder which the parliament had passed, and to be restored to his blood and patrimony. Nor did the king's favour stop here; for discovering good talents in this youth, he gradually advanced him from one station to another, until he raised him to the dignity of viscount Lisle, and invested him with the office of Admiral: in his will he appointed him one of the regency. Dudley made still farther progress during the minority of king Edward VI. having obtained the title of earl of Warwick, and undermined the credit of Fitz-Williams, earl of Southampton, he acquired great influence at the council-board. The victory gained at Pinkey, was much ascribed to his courage and conduct; and he was universally allowed to possess, in an eminent degree, the talents requisite for government, both in peace and war. But these eminent virtues were obscured by many vices: his ambition knew no restraints of honour or justice; he was rapacious in acquiring wealth, and his profligacy was unchecked by any regard to decorum; the lord Seymour stood most in the way to his farther aggrandizement; he, therefore, bent all his attention to precipitate his rival into that ruin, to which his rashness exposed him.

What the particular crimes of the admiral were, most of our historians seem to think very uncertain; all we know is, that he was charged with a design of seizing the king's person, of marrying the princess Elizabeth, and forming thereby some title to the crown. On such accusations he was proceeded against, by bill of attainder brought into
into

into the house of lords, where it passed without opposition; but in its progress through the house of commons, it met with some faint opposition, though it was at length carried, by four hundred votes against nine or ten*. Very unwarrantable it certainly was, to proceed against this nobleman, without bringing him to a legal trial, and giving him an opportunity to defend himself; but such arbitrary measures the nation was, at that time, accustomed to, which caused their flagrant injustice to be overlooked. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill †.

The doctrines of the church of Rome were now exploded, and the reformation was almost completed in England. But though the protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions, which were considered as irrefragable during seven centuries, yet they regarded, in their turn, the doctrines which were introduced in opposition to such, as indisputable axioms; and were ready to burn in the same flames, from which they themselves had been so lately delivered, every one that had the presumption to hold opinions different from theirs. A commission, by act of council, was granted to archbishop Cranmer, and others, to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the book of Common Prayer ‡. The commissioners were enjoined to reclaim them if possible; to impose penance on them; and to give them absolution: or if these criminals were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprison them, and to deliver them over to the secular arm. In the exercise of this power, the inquisitors were not restrained to the ordinary methods of trial; the established forms of law were dispensed with on these occasions; and the commission expressly set aside

* Burnet, Vol. II. p. 99. † A. D. 1549 ‡ Burnet Vol. II. p. 3.

all statutes that might be found to interfere with the powers delegated to these dictators. The minds of men, just set free from the shackles of papal power, were disposed to embrace many wild and extravagant conceits, which rendered their adherents objects of pity, rather than of persecution to the more enlightened of mankind. But in those days it should seem, that to be weak was equally criminal as to be wicked. Many of these enthusiastic visionaries were brought before this tribunal, and being prevailed upon to abjure their tenets, were dismissed; but others, who were obstinate and refractory, were delivered over to the tormentors; among these was a woman, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious, that neither arguments nor threats could work upon her. Her doctrine was, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being the outward man, was sinfully begotten, and born in sin; and, consequently, he could take none of it: but the word, by the consent of the inward man of the Virgin, was made flesh.*" This doctrine gave great offence to the learned divines that sat in judgment upon this incorrigible heretic: they delivered the woman over to the flames for her destructive belief. Edward, however, was not rendered deaf to the voice of nature within him; his tender years, and humane temper, made him revolt at such proceedings, and he refused to sign the warrant for her execution†. Cranmer hereupon reasoned with the king on the necessity of making this woman a public example. He maintained, that there was a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were in direct contradiction to the Apostle's Creed: these

* Burnet, Vol. II. col. 35. Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 324.

† Burnet, Vol. II. p. 112.

latter

latter being impieties against God, which the prince being God's vicegerent, was bound to repress: in like manner as inferior magistrates were required to punish offences against the king's person. The young monarch, overcome by importunity, at last submitted, though with tears in his eyes; telling Cranmer, whilst he signed the paper, that if any wrong was done, the guilt should lie on his head, as the adviser of it. The primate, after making a new effort to reclaim the woman from her errors, and finding her not to be moved by his arguments, at last committed her to the flames. Some time after a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of arianism, was condemned to the same punishment. He suffered with an astonishing degree of fortitude*.

The divided councils that weakened the minority of Edward VI. led Henry II. who then reigned in France, a prince of great spirit, and eager to embark in some active enterprize, to attempt to wrest from the English those places which they still held in that kingdom. His first act of hostility was against Boulogne, which Henry VIII. had conquered. Under pretence of adding to the magnificence of his entrance into Paris, and of the queen's coronation, he drew a considerable body of forces into the neighbourhood of that city, and into Picardy; then departing suddenly from his capital, he came to Abbeville, where his forces rendezvoused, and proceeded, by hasty marches, to Boulogne, he attacked, and carried some of the forts. But the rains which fell in great abundance, during the autumn, and a pestilential distemper, which broke out among his troops, cut off all prospect of reducing the city itself, so that he retired to Paris, leaving

* Strype's Memoirs of Cranmer, p. 181.

the command of the army to Gasper de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, so famous afterwards by the appellation of admiral Coligny, with orders to form the siege early in the spring. The active disposition of this general led him to make several attempts against the place during the winter; but they all proved unsuccessful.

The French likewise attempted to reduce the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey; on the first of which they made a descent, with two thousand land-forces, assisted by a strong squadron of men of war, commanded by Strozzi. The English court being apprized of these designs, sent a small squadron, under the command of commodore Winter, and about eight hundred men, on board some transports, to the relief of these islands. At his arrival he found the ports blocked up, and that he was reduced to the hard alternative, either of attacking the French under every disadvantage of ground and numbers, or of returning home without attempting the business on which he was sent. Undismayed at the dangers which threatened him, he resolved, at all events, to attempt the relief of the place, and conducted himself with such courage and skill, that he totally routed the French forces: slew near a thousand, and drove the rest of them on board some small craft, in which they reached the continent: but all the French ships of force which went on this expedition, were burnt to the water-edge. This disgraceful defeat so mortified the French nation, that (if the English writers may be credited,) they forbade the mention of any particulars concerning it, under pain of death*; and Mr. Campbell is of opinion, that such a report is well founded, as no traces of this

* Cowper, Stowe, Speed, Hayward, Godwin.

expedition are to be found in any French historian*.

The protector finding his resources for carrying on the war very inadequate to the expences of it, proposed to the regency and council, a peace with France. His enemies made use of this posture of affairs to his ruin. The fomenter of this opposition to the measures of the duke of Somerset, was Dudley earl of Warwick, who gained over the body of the nobility to his interest; whilst the populace adhered hitherto to the protector, who had ever approved himself their patron and friend. But the height of power to which that nobleman had risen, had so far dazzled his mind, as to make him negligent of preserving that popularity which he had gained; and farther to injure the credit with the people, the catholic party were his declared enemies, and took every opportunity of decrying his conduct. The attainder and execution of his brother lord Seymour, was generally disrelished; and the obloquy of that measure lit on him: and farther causes of disgust had arisen, which operated powerfully among the lower orders of the people. He was then building a most magnificent palace in the Strand, for the erecting of which, the parish church of St. Mary, and the houses of three bishops were pulled down. The duke also attempted to pull down the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and to make use of the materials in erecting his own building; but the people, incensed at such a sacrilege, rose in a body, and protected the sacred walls from the violence that assailed them. Not intimidated, however, by this opposition, he levelled a chapel in St. Paul's church-yard; also a cloister, and charnel house belonging to it; all which, together with a church of St. John of Jeru-

* *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. I. p. 340.

falem, were profaned, for the purpose of raising his palace. What rendered the matter more odious to the people, was, that the tombs, and other monuments of the dead were defaced; and the bones being carried away, were buried in unconsecrated ground*.

The enemies of the duke of Somerset daily strengthened themselves by some fresh accession; till, at length, the council informed the public, by proclamation, of their actions and intentions: they wrote to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth to the same purpose; and they made an address to the king, in which they charged the protector with having assumed to himself the whole authority of government; and, with a high hand, opposing the opinions of the regency and council: they, therefore, begged to be admitted into the royal confidence, and that Somerset, and his dependents, might be dismissed. This remonstrance met with a favourable reception. Somerset was sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partizans; among whom was Cecil, whom we shall find hereafter a very distinguished character; and articles of indictment were soon after exhibited against the duke†.

The earl of Warwick now stepped into the place which Somerset before had occupied. He took care, very early, to express his intentions of supporting the reformation; and he threw such discouragements on the earl of Southampton, who stood at the head of the Romanists, and whom he considered as a dangerous rival, that that high spirited nobleman retired from the council, and soon after died of vexation and disappointment. The other counsellors, who had concurred in this change of administration, were rewarded by honours and

* Heylin, p. 72, 73. Stow's Survey of London.
p. 600.

† Stowe,

promo-

promotions. Ruffel was created earl of Bedford; the marquis of Northampton obtained the office of great chamberlain; and lord Wentworth, besides the office of chamberlain of the household, gained two large manors, Stepney and Hackney, which were dismembered from the see of London. A council of regency was formed, without regard to the appointments made in the will of Henry VIII.*

A parliament was next called, to give a sanction to the measures which had been taken. Somerset, grown abject by his loss of power, had confessed, on his knees, before the council, every charge brought against him in the indictment; and attributed the instances of misconduct alledged against him, to his own folly, indiscretion, and rashness, not to any malignity of intention. This ample confession he subscribed, and the council laid it before the parliament: that assembly, which had shewn itself ever ready to acquiesce in any administration which was established, after sending a committee to examine the duke, and obtain, from his own mouth, an acknowledgment of the authenticity of the paper, passed a vote, by which they deprived him of all offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against the duke was carried no farther; his fine was remitted by the king; and he obtained his enlargement from the Tower. The earl of Warwick, thinking that his rival was now sufficiently humbled; his influence likewise being much lessened by his late spiritless and submissive behaviour, re-admitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between the two families, by the marriage of his own son, lord Dudley, with the lady Jane Seymour, the duke's daughter.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 339.

No sooner had the new ministry taken the reins of government, than they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; and were now acknowledged not to have any object, which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could obtain; as the Scots had sent away their queen, and had therefore put it out of their power to effect her marriage with Edward, should a change of politics even incline them to such an alliance. The project of peace, entertained by Somerset, had served his enemies as a pretext for clamour against his administration; but these very men, when invested with the executive power, found it expedient to adopt the plan of conduct which they had before decried. A negotiation for that purpose was therefore set on foot; at which the French king absolutely refused to pay two millions of crowns, which his predecessor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of pensions; declaring, that he never would consent to become tributary to any prince. To qualify this refusal, he agreed to pay four hundred thousand crowns for the restitution of Boulogne*. In this treaty the Scots were included; and, for the management thereof, Edward lord Clinton, who had been governor of the territory now yielded to France, was created lord high admiral for life, and had large grants made him of lands from the king†.

It appears, that the first mention made of iron bullets is in an acquittance for delivery of the artillery and ammunition of Boulogne. Stone bul-

* 24th March, 1550. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 143. † Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 230. Keith's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 56.

lets were constantly made use of before this time, and remained in use, partially, long after*.

In the year 1551, the privileges and immunities which had been enjoyed by the German merchants of the Steel-yard, in London, almost for time immemorial, were revoked by the king and council. The cities of Antwerp and Hamburgh possessed the principal commerce of the northern and middle parts of Europe; and their factors, at the Steel-yard, set what prices they pleased on their imports and exports; and having the command of all the markets in England, and great wealth, consisting in their joint stock, whoever attempted to oppose this body, was sure to draw down ruin on his own head. These Hanseatics were likewise charged with much rapacity and unfair dealing, whereby the revenue was defrauded; and as the foreign commerce of England now became more diffused, such practices could be no longer tolerated: this destructive monopoly was, therefore, restricted within more reasonable limits.

Several remonstrances were made against this innovation, by Lubec, Hamburgh, and other Hanse-Towns; but the council persevered in their resolution, and the good effects of it soon became visible to the nation. The English merchants, by their very situation as natives, had advantages above foreigners, in the purchase of cloth, wool, and other commodities; though these advantages had not hitherto been sufficient to rouse their industry, or engage them to become rivals to this opulent company: but when aliens' duty was alike imposed upon all foreigners indiscriminately, the English were tempted to enter into commerce; and a spirit of industry began to appear in the kingdom†.

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. XV. p. 228. † Heylin, p. 103.

In the same year a commercial treaty was entered into with Gustavus Ericson, king of Sweden; by which it was stipulated, that if he sent bullion into England, he should be privileged to export from thence English commodities, duty free: but it seems to have been a condition on which this immunity was granted, that he should carry out his bullion to no other country, or state; but that England should be, exclusively, supplied with it. If the king of Sweden sent ozimus, steel, copper, &c. he should pay no other customs for English commodities, than those which were exacted of the natives of England. Farther, if he sent any other kind of merchandize, his subjects should have free liberty to dispose thereof, paying the customs levied on strangers*.

The bullion sent over by Sweden, though it could not be in great quantities, was sufficient to employ the mint. Good specie was coined; and much of the base metal, formerly issued, was recalled. A circumstance which tended greatly to the advancement of commerce†.

In this state of affairs, the ambition of Warwick grew more insatiable in proportion as it was gratified. He procured himself to be created duke of Northumberland; and obtained a grant of all those ample possessions in the north of England, which had heretofore been annexed to the title of earl of Northumberland, and, at that time, vested in the crown. Intoxicated with power, he, at length, resolved upon sacrificing the fallen Somerset. The alliance, which had been contracted between the two families, had produced no cordial union, and only enabled Northumberland to compass, with more certainty, the destruction of his rival. He secretly gained many of the friends and retainers.

* Heylin, p. 109.
p. 350.

† Hume's History of England, Vol. IV.

of the duke, whilst he irritated that unhappy nobleman by menaces and insults. Somerset felt, very strongly, the wretchedness of his situation; and would frequently, in the bitterness of his heart, utter invectives, and even threats, against the author of his sufferings. His treacherous confidants reported to the duke of Northumberland, every machination of the deluded Somerset; and even revealed the schemes which they themselves had first suggested. Every thing being now ripe for his destruction, he was suddenly apprehended, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower; soon after which he was brought to his trial, condemned and executed*. In all these struggles for power, the young king, by reason of his tender age, was merely passive; he was only made the instrument of the resentment and ambition of the condemning ministers, as either happened to prevail; and at one time signed the order for execution on this side, at another time on that; but ever with great reluctance, and testifying a perfect abhorrence of severity and bloodshed.

After the peace with France, a friendly intercourse took place between the courts, which excited the jealousies of the emperor, who was ever ready to foment the misunderstandings, which were apt to break out between the two nations. Piratical depredations committed by some Flemish ships on the English merchant-men, not being punished by the emperor, others were encouraged to the like acts of violence; soon after, some private adventurers from the ports of France, adopted the like lawless course. A representation of these proceedings being laid before the king of England, by the mer-

* 22d January, 1552.

chants who were aggrieved, a squadron of four men of war, and two small vessels, was appointed to protect the navigation of the narrow seas; the command of which was given to Henry Dudley; but this force was not effectual to accomplish the design on which it was sent: the French continued their piracies, making captures of several English ships; till, at length, it appeared, that the losses sustained by the merchants, during the space of twenty months, amounted to fifty thousand pounds. The English minister, at the court of France, was thereupon directed to make warm remonstrances on this head; but no redress could be obtained: so that affairs wore an inimical aspect at the time of the king's death, which happened on the 6th of July, 1553.

The premature end of this amiable young monarch, excited many violent suspicions against the duke of Northumberland. The strong affection which the nation entertained for their king, and the general dislike in which the Dudleys were held, occasioned it to be remarked, that Edward had, every moment, declined in health, from the time that lord Robert Dudley, a younger son of the duke, had been placed about his person, in quality of gentleman of the bedchamber. As the king's disorder increased, the duke of Northumberland removed all, except his own emissaries, from about his person: he then prevailed on Edward, when the powers of his mind were debilitated by disease, to make a will, in conformity to the example of his father Henry VIII. by which he excluded his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, from the crown, and bequeathed it to his cousin, the lady Jane Grey, the duchess of Suffolk's daughter, then only sixteen years of age, and who had married the lord Guildford Dudley, the fourth son of the duke of Northumberland.

thumberland. After the executing of this settlement, the king grew worse very rapidly; his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little time, to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree: he felt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end †.

Edward is celebrated, by our historians, for the beauty of his person, the engaging sweetness of his disposition, his attachment to equity and justice, and the extent of his knowledge, which rendered him an object of tender affection to his people, and filled them with the flattering hopes, that his reign would be rendered illustrious by his virtues. His death was, therefore, felt as a public misfortune. This prince's capacity and application to study were so extraordinary, that at the time of his death, he understood the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages; was versed in the sciences of natural philosophy, logic, and music; and was master of all the theological disputes, with which the minds of men, in that age, were agitated. He kept a book, in which he wrote the characters of the chief men of the nation; taking notice of their manner of life, and their religious principles. He understood fortification, and designed well: he was also well acquainted with all the harbours and ports in his dominions, and with those of Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and the way of entering them. He had studied

† Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 364.

the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money; and had acquired such knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors, who were sent into England, published very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. To assist his memory, he took notes of every thing he heard worth notice, which he wrote first in Greek characters, that they might be unintelligible to those about him; and afterwards copied out fair in his journal. This journal, written with his own hand, is in the British Museum, and was transcribed by bishop Burnet, who published it in the second volume of his *History of the Reformation*.

Before we dismiss this period, it will be proper to say something concerning Sebastian Cabot, who has been already named in the voyage which was undertaken by his father, John Cabot, in the year 1497; and likewise for a voyage which he himself undertook in the reign of Henry VIII. in conjunction with Sir Thomas Port, or Pert*, then vice-admiral of England; but in the latter enterprize nothing of consequence was effected. Soon after this, Sebastian Cabot went over to Spain, and entered into the service of the most catholic king, who appointed him his pilot-major, or chief-pilot. In the year 1525 he sailed from Spain, with a design to follow the track which Magelhaen had marked out, to the East-Indies, through the straits that intersect the southern extremity of America, and across the South-Sea: but arriving at the Brazils, he proceeded up the river of Plate; giving names to several places, as well as to some rivers, which he met with in his progress, quite up to the extensive country called Paraguay. He returned to Spain in 1531 †.

* See page 227, and 287.
Churchill's Voyages, Vol. I. Introduction.

† Herera, Vol. III. decad. III.

Cabot, some few years after this voyage to South-America, quitted the service of Spain, and returning to England, settled at Bristol, the place of his birth.

In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. he was introduced to the duke of Somerset, who shewed him particular favour, and recommended him to the young king, who highly relished the conversation of this voyager. Edward himself, notwithstanding his tender years, is said to have been an adept in the studies to which Cabot had applied himself. It is not surprizing, therefore, that, with such a prince, Cabot should be in high esteem; or that a new office should be created, for the purpose of investing him with a salary equivalent to that which he had enjoyed in Spain. Accordingly, the annual sum of one hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence was granted him, by letters-patent, dated 6th January, 1549*. Thenceforward he continued highly in the king's favour, and was consulted in all matters relating to trade; particularly in the great cause of the merchants of the Steel-yard, in 1551, of which we have already given an account. In May 1552, the king granted a licence, with letters of safe conduct, to such persons as should embark on board three ships, to be employed for the discovery of a passage, by the north, to the East-Indies. Sebastian Cabot was, at that time, governor of the company of Merchant-adventurers; by his advice this enterprize was undertaken; and, by his interest at court, the above licence was obtained†.

Sebastian Cabot is supposed by Mr. Campbell to have died about the year 1556, in the beginning of

* Rymer's Fæd. Vol. XV. p. 181.
275.

† Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 274.

which year he was very active in the affairs of a company of merchants trading to Russia, since styled the Russia Company; after which time no farther mention is made of him by any writer*. He was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived; and, by his capacity and industry, contributed greatly to the service of mankind in general, and of this kingdom particularly. He was the first who took notice of the variation of the compass, a discovery of signal use in navigation, and concerning which the learned have busied themselves in enquiries ever since†.

To return to the attempt made to discover a north-east passage, towards the latter end of the reign of Edward VI. Sir Hugh Willoughby was appointed to the command of this enterprize, and sailed with three ships, which ended very unfortunately; many of those on board, as well as the commander, being frozen to death, in latitude 72 degrees. A better fate, however, attended one of the three ships, which was commanded by Richard Chancellor; for passing the North Cape to the eastward, he fell into the Bay of St. Nicholas, or the White-Sea, on the Russian coast, being the first European ship that ever visited those parts. He landed at the abbey of St. Nicholas, near Archangel; and, whilst he continued here, obtained an audience of the czar John Basilowitz, who very readily promoted the views of the English, in establishing a trade with Russia. Nor was it the only advantage derived from this abortive attempt to find out a north-east passage to China; for it pointed out to the English, the way

* Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. I. p. 356.
Annals, p. 811.

† Stowe's

to the whale-fishery at Spitsbergen, which was soon after undertaken; and in this voyage the coast of Greenland was first discovered.

At the same time we find from Hakluyt, three ships from Portsmouth, trading for gold along the coast of Guinea; but only one returned home from the voyage. Afterwards the English made several voyages to Guinea, and brought home, from thence, great quantities of gold-dust, and elephant's teeth; notwithstanding which, until the negro trade was found essential for the cultivation of the West-India Islands, (how unwarrantable soever it may be deemed by many in a moral view) no considerable trade to that coast could have been long carried on with much advantage, as the country produces few articles for commerce, and stands in little need of the produce of other nations.



CHAP. IV.

The Reign of Queen Mary—Attempt of the Duke of Northumberland to place his Daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Gray, on the Throne—Execution of the Duke, and afterwards of Lady Jane Gray—Marriage of Queen Mary with Philip of Spain—Spirited Behaviour of Lord Effingham, Lord High Admiral, to the Spanish Admiral—War with France and Scotland—Calais surrenders to the Duke of Guise—An English Squadron protects the Spaniards, at Gravelines—Designs against Brest, under Lord Clinton—Embassy from the Czar of Muscovy—Naval Power of England during the Reign of Queen Mary.

NOTWITHSTANDING the opportunity which the long disorder of Edward the Sixth had given the duke of Northumberland to mature his project of governing the kingdom, in the name of his daughter-in-law, yet he found it necessary to conceal the king's death for two days, hoping to get the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth into his power; but in this design he failed. The duke then sent for the lord-mayor of London, and directed him to bring with him six aldermen, six merchants of the staple, and as many of the merchant-adventurers; and these were the first that were acquainted with the king's death, and the manner in which he had bequeathed the crown. These were enjoined secrecy for two days more; and then to proclaim lady Jane, queen of England. From this circumstance it appears, that the merchants and citizens of London were held in high estimation in those days*.

This lady, whom a cruel destiny compelled to wear a transient crown, possessed an amiable person, an engaging temper, and a most accomplished mind.

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 360.

Being

Being of the same age with the late king, she had been educated with him, and was well acquainted with the Roman and Greek languages, as well as the modern tongues. She had spent most of her time in study, and shewed great indifference to the usual amusements of her sex and station. Roger Ascham, the lady Elizabeth's tutor, one day paying her a visit, found her reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the Park; and on his expressing his admiration at the singularity of her choice, she observed, that Plato afforded her more real pleasure, than others could reap from all their gaiety and sport. While her mind possessed this fondness for literature, and the elegant arts, and her heart glowed with tenderness for her husband, who deserved her affection, she was insensible of the flattering allurements of ambition; and being shocked at the idea of possessing the crown, refused to accept of it; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending so dangerous an enterprize; and begged to be allowed to remain in the private station in which she was born. At last, overcome by the entreaties and persuasions of her father, and of her father-in-law, and, above all, of her husband, she was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment, and submit to their will. As it had been long usual for the kings of England to pass some days, after their accession, in the Tower, Northumberland immediately conveyed her thither; and all the counsellors were obliged to attend her to that fortress; by which means the duke made them, in some measure, his prisoners. The council immediately gave orders to proclaim Jane, queen, throughout the kingdom; but these orders were obeyed only in London and its neighbourhood; and the people heard the proclamation without expressing the least applause.

Among

Among the precautions taken by the duke to secure the crown to his party, one of the principal was, to send a squadron of six ships to lie before the port of Yarmouth, to prevent the princess Mary, who was preparing to assert her right to the succession, from escaping out of the kingdom. But this force no sooner appeared on their station, than it was prevailed on to declare in favour of queen Mary, who was then in Suffolk. At the same time the warden of the Cinque-Ports proclaimed the queen in Kent; and on the 19th of July, only nine days after the proclamation of lady Jane, queen Mary was proclaimed at London, and lady Jane became a prisoner in the very place where, just before, she had kept her court. Every thing concurring to counteract the traiterous designs of Northumberland, who on finding his projects impracticable, hastened to make professions of his allegiance to the new queen.

MARY's first acts of power presaged nothing of that cruelty which, in the issue, stigmatized this short reign. She gave a solemn promise to the men of Suffolk, who first declared in her favour, that the concerns of religion should remain in the situation in which she found them; and she was no sooner arrived in London, than she released the duke of Norfolk, who had remained in confinement during her brother's reign. The duke of Northumberland alone was marked out as the object of royal vengeance; and such are the vicissitudes incident to human affairs, that the duke of Norfolk, who owed his long confinement to this peer, was appointed to preside upon his trial. He was found guilty, notwithstanding the able manner in which he managed his defence; and, shortly after, closed his life on the block: that centric point where almost all the wild roving of mad ambition were finally

finally terminated, during a turbulent period of a century and a half. Not one of the many executions which took place in those times of fierceness and barbarity, seems more consonant to the principles of distribute justice, than that of this arch-traitor; who having risen, by the favour of his prince, to a distinguished height of greatness, trampled on every principle of honour and humanity, which strongly opposed the farther progress of his ambition; and, at length, aspired, virtually, to possess the throne of England itself, to the exclusion of the branch of the royal family, to which he owed every thing that he possessed. Lady Jane Gray, and her husband lord Dudley, were both found guilty, but no punishment was inflicted on them.

Queen Mary was strongly bigotted to the popish superstitions: having been bred up in restraint, she was reserved and gloomy: even, during the life of her father, she had resolutely adhered to her sentiments and her ceremonies, and refused to conform to the new institutions which Henry VIII. had promulgated: her zeal had rendered her cruel; and she was not only blindly attached to her religious opinions, but even to the popish clergy who maintained them; and these destructive propensities soon discovered themselves by her conduct.

The parliament, which was soon assembled, declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Arragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer: but in this act no mention is made of the pope's authority, as any ground of the marriage. The next important national concern was, a suitable match for the queen; and, in the choice of a husband, Mary had turned her eye towards the emperor's family, from which her mother was descended, and which had afforded her countenance
and

and protection during her own distresses. Charles V. had no sooner heard of the death of Edward, and of the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the design of acquiring that kingdom for his family. His son Philip was a widower, and eleven years younger than the queen; yet he imagined that this objection would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having a numerous issue. Charles immediately sent to inform Mary of his intentions. She, being pleased with so powerful an alliance, and glad to unite herself more closely to her mother's family, to which she was always strongly attached, willingly embraced the proposal. Norfolk, Arundell, and Paget, advised her to consent; and Gardiner, who was both prime minister and chancellor, finding how Mary's inclinations lay, seconded these proposals. He, at the same time, represented, both to her and the emperor, the necessity of putting a stop to the persecution of the protestants, till the completion of the marriage; which, being once over, would give authority to the queen's measures, and afterwards enable her to proceed in the work: and observed, that it was first necessary to reconcile the English to the marriage, by rendering the conditions favourable to them, and such as would ensure their independency, and the enjoyment of their ancient rights and privileges.

Charles assented to these reasons, and strove to temper Mary's zeal, by representing the necessity of proceeding gradually in the great work of converting the nation. Mean while the negotiation for the marriage proceeded apace: but Mary's intentions of espousing Philip becoming generally known to the nation, the commons were alarmed at hearing that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance, and therefore sent a committee to remonstrate

against

against it in the strongest terms. Upon which she dissolved the parliament.

The queen being determined on marrying Philip, prince of Spain, in opposition to the general voice of her people, commodore Winter was sent, with a strong squadron, to bring over the ambassadors sent by Charles V. to conclude the match: on his arrival at Ostend, the emperor sent him a very fine gold chain, which, at his return to England, he shewed to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a wealthy merchant of London, who, after fixing his eyes on it for some time, said, "for this gold chain you have sold your country." For which expression they were both tried for their lives.* It was the coming of these ambassadors which induced Sir Thomas Wyatt to take up arms, and begin a rebellion; which first endangered the queen's safety, and, in the end, brought him to the block. The duke of Suffolk, father of lady Jane, had endeavoured to foment this insurrection, but without success; he also was taken prisoner, and destined for the common slaughter; but what chiefly excited the public compassion was, the execution of lady Jane Gray, and her husband lord Guilford Dudley.

When the articles of marriage were finally adjusted, the queen caused a fleet, of twenty-eight sail, to be equipped, the command of which she gave to the lord William Howard, whom she had created baron of Effingham, also lord high admiral; and on this occasion constituted lieutenant-general, and commander in chief of her army. He was sent to sea under colour of guarding the coast, but really to escort prince Philip, who entered the narrow seas, with a Spanish fleet of one hundred and sixty sail; his admiral carrying the Spanish flag in his main-top. The English admiral was so highly

* This trial is preserved in Hellinghead.

offended at this conduct, that he fired a shot, and obliged the Spaniard to take down his colours, before he would make his compliments to the prince*. A noble instance of spirit, which well deserves to be commemorated!

The enemies of the state being now suppressed, the theatre was opened for the pretended enemies to religion. The queen was freed from all apprehensions of insurrection, and therefore began by assembling a corrupt parliament, which was to countenance her future cruelties. The nobility, whose only religion seemed to be that of the prince who governed, were easily gained over, and the house of commons seemed passive to all the queen's measures†. We have already described the first rise of the reformation in England, and the means by which it advanced, until it received royal protection in the reign of Edward VI. We are happy that the plan of our work does not require us to relate all the inhuman butcheries that defiled the reign of this bigotted queen: enough has been said to give our readers an idea of the great revolution which was effected in England, by the deliverance of the nation from the darkness of superstition, and the bondage of implicit belief; to say more on the subject would be digressing too widely from our plan.

The queen had not been two years married before an event took place, which greatly changed the face of affairs in Europe, and in which England was particularly interested. The history of every country furnishes us with many instances of subjects aspiring to be sovereigns: and such is the fascination of a crown, that to acquire it men will desperately stake their fortunes and their lives; but for a sovereign, inheriting, by birth, a rich and

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 243.

† Goldsmith.
extensive

extensive kingdom; and surpassing, in greatness, every other European potentate, voluntarily to resign all his dignities, and to reduce himself to the condition of a subject, is a phenomenon in the operations of the human mind, and almost peculiar to the emperor Charles V. This prince, whose restless desire of power had frequently spread the flames of war over Europe, at length became disgusted with the pomp and splendour of royalty, and resolved to seek from tranquillity and a private retreat, that happiness which he had sought in vain, amidst the tumults of war, and the restless projects of ambition. On the 25th of October, 1555, he summoned the states of the Netherlands, and, seating himself, for the last time, on the throne, informed his subjects of the reasons of his resignation, absolved them from their oaths of allegiance; and after devolving his authority on Philip, told him, that his paternal tenderness made him weep, when he reflected on the burden he laid upon him, and that the great and only duty of a prince, was to study the happiness of his people. He observed, that his vain scheme of extending his empire, had been the source of endless opposition, and disappointment; that this had frustrated the sole end of government; and that the felicity of the nations committed to his care, was an object, which, if steadily pursued, could alone convey a solid and lasting satisfaction.

The emperor, a few months after, resigned his other dominions to Philip, and sailing to Spain, retired into the monastery of St. Just; which, being seated in a happy climate, and amidst the greatest beauties of nature, he had chosen for his retreat. He was, however, soon sensible of the ingratitude of Philip his son, who was negligent in paying the small pension he had reserved for himself; and this gave him a sensible concern. He, however, pur-

sued his resolution with inflexible constancy; and, in this retreat, even restrained his curiosity from enquiring into the transactions of the world he had abandoned. He employed his leisure in examining the controversies in divinity, which he had hitherto only considered in a political light; and in imitating the works of the most famous artists in mechanics; of which he had always been a great admirer and encourager. Having amused himself with the construction of clocks and watches, he thence remarked the impracticability of what had so much engaged his attention during his reign; and how impossible it was, that he who could never frame two machines that would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind agree in the same opinions. The emperor survived his retreat about two years.

By the marriage treaty between Philip and Mary, it was stipulated, that the queen's dominions should not be led to engage in any war, particularly with the crown of France, on account of any differences that might arise between the court of Spain and any other power. Notwithstanding which, when a rupture between Philip of Spain and Henry II. of France, took place in 1557, England was presently involved in the quarrel. The queen and her council were prevailed upon so far to forget the interests of England, as to enter into a war both with Scotland and France. To effect this, king Philip came to England, and resided there some time. From thence he proceeded to Flanders, and marched a considerable army into Bretagne, where he was joined by the earl of Pembroke, at the head of ten thousand veteran troops, who distinguished himself greatly in the decisive battle that was fought with the French before the town of St. Quintin*.

* 7th July, 1557.

After that signal victory, he greatly contributed to the taking of the town by storm*. But whilst the English arms were thus acquiring honour abroad, the country was exposed to the inroads of the Scots from the borders; whilst the trade of the kingdom suffered considerably from the swarm of privateers which issued from the different ports of Scotland, and committed great ravages in the northern seas. To revenge these insults, Sir John Clare, vice-admiral of England, was sent with twelve sail of ships, to those parts; but making a descent on one of the Orkneys, he was defeated, and sustained a considerable loss: on retreating to his ships, the boat which he was on board of overfet, and himself, with several others, were drowned.

The succeeding winter proved fatal to the English possessions in France; those small remains of the great conquests which her Edwards and Henrys had made. The duke of Guise, who, at this time, governed France, was at the head of an army in Italy when the French were routed in the battle of St. Quintin; but immediately on that event, he marched his troops into the heart of France, to obstruct the expected progress of Philip's victorious army. The campaign being at length closed, this vigilant and able general resolved to attempt, in the depth of winter, an enterprize which France, in her greatest prosperity, had always considered as impracticable. Calais was, in that age, esteemed an impregnable fortress; but Coligny had observed, that being surrounded with marshes, which were impassable in winter, except over a dyke, guarded by the castles of St. Agatha and Newnambridge, and English had been lately accus-

* Mezeray, Tom. IV. p. 710. P. Daniel Hist. de Mil. de France, Tom. VIII. p. 210.

tomed,

tomed, at the end of autumn, to dismiss a great part of the garrison, and to restore them in the spring; and had actually formed the design of making a sudden attack on Calais from this circumstance, having caused the place to be secretly viewed by some engineers. The plan of the enterprize being found among his papers, served, notwithstanding his being made prisoner at the taking of St. Quintin, to suggest the undertaking, and to direct the duke of Guise in conducting it.

Different bodies of troops having, on various pretences, marched towards the frontiers, were suddenly assembled, and formed an army, at the head of which Guise, marched towards Calais. Many French ships being, at the same time, ordered into the channel, under the pretence of cruising on the English, formed a fleet, which attacked the fortifications by sea. Three thousand arquebusiers attacked St. Agatha; and, notwithstanding the garrison made a vigorous defence, soon obliged it to abandon that fortress, and retreat to Newnambridge, the siege of which was immediately undertaken; and, at the same time, the fleet battered the Risbank, a fortress which guarded the entrance of the harbour. Lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, who was a brave officer, finding that the greatest part of his weak garrison was inclosed in the castle of Newnambridge and the Risbank, ordered them to capitulate, and to join him in Calais, which he was unable to defend without their assistance. The garrison of Newnambridge was so happy as to succeed; but that of the Risbank being unable to obtain such favourable conditions, was forced to surrender at discretion.

Calais being now blockaded both by sea and land, the duke of Guise, to prevent any accident, instantly attacked the place, and planted his batteries against

against the castle, where he made a large breach: then directing Andelot, Coligny's brother, to drain the fosse, he gave orders for an assault, and made a lodgment in the castle. The following night, Wentworth attempted to recover this post; but having lost, in a furious attack, two hundred men, he found his garrison so weak, that he was forced to capitulate. Ham and Guisnes were taken soon after; and thus the duke of Guise, within eight days, during the depth of winter, obtained the possession of Calais, which cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, though at the head of a numerous army, which had, just before, obtained the glorious victory of Cressy. The English had possessed this town above two hundred years; and as it afforded them an easy entrance into France, it was considered as a very important possession to the crown of England. The joy of the French was extreme; while the English, thus bereaved of this last possession on the continent, murmured loudly against the queen and her council, who after engaging, for the sake of foreign interests, in a fruitless war, had thus exposed the nation to disgrace; and the Scots, prompted by French councils, beginning to move on the borders, they were under the necessity of attending to their defence at home, rather than to the thoughts of recovering foreign possessions.

Whether the possession of Calais was really beneficial to England, was a point which the nation, at that time, was in too great a ferment coolly to discuss; but it does not appear that, in the next reign, the queen, or her ministers, considered it of vast importance, as the restitution of it seems rather to have been insisted on to gratify the humour of the nation, than from any conviction which government had of its utility.

The war continued to be carried on with great vigour between the French and Spaniards; the
recovery

recovery of Calais had restored the affairs of France, and the campaign of 1558 opened very successfully for that nation. Flushed with success, the French army attacked count Egmont, the Spanish general, near Gravelines, but were received with great spirit. Whilst the action continued, an English squadron then cruising in the narrow seas, bore down to the shore, and bringing their guns to bear upon the left wing of the French, did such dreadful execution, as presently decided the fortune of the day. Two hundred of the enemy fled to the English ships for quarter*. This was a very decisive stroke in favour of Philip.

The queen hereupon ordered a considerable naval armament to be drawn together, with an intent to make a descent on the coast of France, under the command of lord Clinton, lord high admiral. Much time was lost before this fleet got to sea; but in the month of July it reached the coast of Lower Bretagne. Seven thousand land-forces were disembarked, which reduced the town of Conquet, and then re-embarked, and the fleet set sail to return to England; but being joined by a squadron of thirty sail of Spanish ships, the admiral was induced to attempt the town of Brest. When he arrived the second time on that coast, he found the whole country under arms, and the design thereby rendered impracticable†. This was the last naval enterprize during the reign of queen Mary.

Philip had, from the first, treated the queen with the most mortifying coldness; her extreme desire of having issue, had made her fondly give credit to any appearance of pregnancy; and before she had been a twelvemonth married, so strong was the belief of this fact, that notifications thereof were formally given in to foreign courts: orders

* Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. I. p. 369.
Hist. de France, Tom. VII. p. 233.

† Daniel

were

were issued to give public thanks to heaven for the expected event, and great rejoicings were made. Notwithstanding which, the body of the nation remained somewhat incredulous; and men were persuaded, that the queen laboured under infirmities, which rendered her incapable of having children. Her infant proved only the commencement of a dropsy, which the disordered state of her health had brought upon her. Her husband, at length, neither pleased with his consort nor with the nation, quitted England, to pursue his own schemes in Flanders. The loss of Calais, and the disappointment with regard to the queen's pregnancy, excited bitter murmurs among the people. The protestants now exerted their influence, in exposing the weakness of the government, and the cruelty of the council. The house of commons, that had commonly been a mere eccho to the voice of majesty, now testified dissatisfaction, and refused to grant a subsidy, though Mary condescended to lay the bad state of her affairs before them. One of the members for the city of London made a long speech in the house on this occasion, wherein he fully and freely laid open the national grievances; affirming, among other things, that the city of London was then worth less, by three hundred thousand pounds, than at the death of king Edward VI*. Every reflection now tormented the queen: the consciousness of being hated by her subjects; the prospect of Elizabeth's succession; apprehensions of the danger to which the catholic religion stood exposed; dejection for the loss of Calais; which, she said, would be found written on her heart after her death; and, above all, anxiety

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 371.

for the absence of her husband, who, she knew, intended soon to settle in Spain, during the remainder of his life; all these melancholy reflections preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever; of which she died, after a short reign of five years four months and eleven days, aged forty-two years*.

The catastrophe which befel Sir Hugh Willoughby, was not sufficient to damp the spirit of discovery which now began to break forth. In 1556 captain Stephen Burrough, in the service of the Russia company, failed northward towards Nova-Zembla, in hopes of finding an entrance into the great river Oby, in the Tartarian-Sea; but he was unable to pass the Straits of Weygats, on the southern coast of Nova Zembla, from the immense quantities of ice that obstructed that northern navigation, and was therefore obliged to return unsuccessfully.

We have already seen, that a passage to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign; in consequence of which, a beneficial trade was established with Muscovy. A solemn embassy was sent by the czar to queen Mary; but on their passage, the ambassadors were shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland: being hospitably entertained there, they proceeded on their journey, and were received in London with great pomp†. This seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

During this reign, the naval power of England

* Hume's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 445.
Head, p. 732.

† Holling-

was so inconsiderable, that fourteen thousand pounds being ordered to be applied to the fleet, both for repairing and victualling it, it was computed, that ten thousand pounds a year would afterwards answer all necessary charges *.

In this reign we find the first general law with regard to highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty, all over England †.

* Burnet, Vol. III. p. 259. † 2d and 3d Philip and Mary, cap. 8.

CHAP. V.

The Reign of Queen Elizabeth—Great Joy at her Accession — Protestant Religion restored — Mary Queen of Scots, and her Husband the Dauphin, assume the Arms and Title of Sovereigns of England—Elizabeth sends a Fleet and Army to Scotland—First Voyage from England to the Coast of Guinea—Havre-de-Grace put into the Hands of Elizabeth, which is re-taken by France —The Queen Waves making her Claim to Calais—Assists the French Protestants—Expedition of Sir John Hawkins to South America—Rate of Interest for Money settled—Revolution in the Low Countries—Drake's Voyage round the World—Frobisher Attempts a North-West Passage—Queen Elizabeth enters into a Treaty with the Newly-United

Provinces—Designs of Philip II. of Spain—Mary Queen of Scots—Her Marriage with Darnley—Birth of Prince James of Scotland—Queen Mary takes refuge in England—Her Trial and Execution—Charter granted to the Turkey Company—Voyage of Sir Humphry Gilbert—Queen Elizabeth refuses the Sovereignty of the Low Countries—Cavendish's Voyage round the World—Expeditions against Spain—Fleet of England commanded by Lord Effingham to oppose the Spanish Armada—Effect of Fire Ships on the Spanish Fleet—The final Ruin of the Armada by Storms—Establishment of the Chest at Chatham—Vigo sacked by Sir Francis Drake—Revenue from the Customs—Annual Expence of the Navy—Fleet of Privateers fitted out by the Earl of Cumberland to Attack the Azores—Gallant Conduct of Sir Richard Grenville—First Voyage from England to the East Indies—Sir Martin Frobisher sent against Brest—Sir Francis Drake sent against the Spanish West Indies—Sir Andrew Shirley attacks Jamaica—Expedition against Cadiz—Sir Richard Hawkins discovers Falkland's Islands, and enters the South Sea—Sir Walter Raleigh's Voyage of Discovery—Stipulated Payments from the States of Holland to Elizabeth—Powerful Fleet under the Earl of Essex—Whale Fishery established—German Merchants of the Steel Yard sent out of the Kingdom—Death of Cecil Lord Burleigh and of Philip II. — Ireland reduced — Oppressive Monopolies granted by Queen Elizabeth — Her Death and Character.

WE have hitherto seen England, like the element that surrounds it, ever unsettled and stormy. At length, the genius of the people prevailed over all opposition, and England was now about to make its own happiness, and to set mankind

kind an example of industry, commerce, freedom, learning, opulence, and power*.

Elizabeth was unanimously declared queen on the death of her sister Mary. From her very childhood she had been familiar with adversity; and as her prospect of mounting the throne of England had ever been extremely doubtful and obscure, until her sister's state of health precluded all probability of her bringing an heir to possess it, the season of youth was employed in the acquisition of useful knowledge, instead of being wasted amidst the idle pageantry, and seducing adulation, which commonly beset those who are born to inherit a kingdom. She had long been the object of Mary's utter aversion, both on account of her adherence to the protestant religion, and as being presumptive heir to the crown. It was even feared that she might attempt to wrest it from her sister during her life; but it was unquestionably certain, that she would, if ever she came to it, entirely innovate that religion which Mary had been so zealous to establish. The bishops, who had shed a deluge of blood, to bring the kingdom back to the church of Rome, considered the destruction of the princess Elizabeth as absolutely necessary to the completion of their purpose. They represented to queen Mary, that her destroying meaner heretics availed nothing, whilst the patroness of heresy was permitted to live: that it was to no purpose to lop off the branches of the tree, whilst its body was suffered to remain. Mary was convinced of the force of these reasons, and caused her sister to be confined as a prisoner, waiting only for some favourable pretext to destroy her. Her own death prevented the perpetration of her premeditated cruelty, and Elizabeth was taken from a prison to be placed upon a throne.

* Goldsmith.

The kingdom was in a most distressed condition at the accession of this queen. It was engaged in a foreign war, to further the views of an insatiable monarch, and from whence no national benefit could be derived. At home the people were divided and distracted about their religious and civil concerns. Those of the reformed religion had been lately exposed to the flames; and the Romanists notwithstanding, saw very clearly, the male-administration of that government to which they adhered, because it fostered their religious tenets. There was not a power in Europe to which the English might turn for support and assistance; and with Scotland, an open war was then waging: immediately on the queen's death, Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, assumed the title of queen of England, and laid claim to the crown. The exchequer of England was exhausted; most of the forts and castles in the kingdom were gone to decay: at sea the English had lost much of their reputation, and a heavy dejection had overspread all ranks of people.

Elizabeth was twenty-five years of age when she ascended the throne. She was endowed by nature with quick parts, which had been improved by a learned and judicious education; and what contributed very essentially to strengthen the hands of government, she had the prepossessions of the people strongly in her favour. The first act of the queen's government was, asserting her independence. An order of council was issued, in the preamble to which it was recited, that the distresses of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign councils in the preceding reign, and therefore the queen thought fit to declare, that she was a free princess, and determined to act as such, without any farther application to Spain, than the concerns

concerns of her people required*. The queen then issued orders to her vice admiral Malyn, to draw together a fleet of ships, with which to cruise on the narrow seas; and for preventing all persons from passing out of the realm, or entering into it, without a license being obtained: in which service he was very assiduous†. Every measure was taken, at the same time, that might secure the nation from foreign invasion, or internal commotion.

Both houses of parliament were disposed to gratify the queen, in every particular which she should require. They began the session with an unanimous declaration, that "queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God, as by the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir of the crown, lawfully descended from the royal blood, according to the order of succession, settled in the 35th, Henry VIII."‡ This act of recognition was, probably, dictated by the queen herself, and her ministry; and she shewed her magnanimity, as well as moderation, in the terms which she employed on this occasion. She adopted not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy: she knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible, that Henry's divorce from Ann Boleyn was, merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly, which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied, therefore, in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted,

* Cotton. Library, Tit. c. 10.
 ‡ 1st Eliz. cap. 3.

† Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 6.

the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and enquiries, she took possession of the throne, both as her birthright, and as ensured to her by former acts of parliament: and she never appeared anxious to distinguish their titles*.

Queen Elizabeth was thoroughly attached to the protestant cause, which, by this time, had gained such footing among the people, as to have acquired the ascendancy over the adherents to popery. The ill use the papists had made of their power in the last reign, had totally undone their cause. A religion marked with cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, was not a religion for the people of England†. With the concurrence of the parliament the reformation was again introduced, and the opposition which was made to these religious establishments, was but weak. Of nine thousand four hundred beneficed clergymen, the whole number in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty of the parochial clergy, chose to quit their preferments, rather than their belief. Thus England changed its established religion four times in as many reigns. Strange, says a foreign writer, that a people who are so resolute, should be guilty of so much inconstancy! That the same people who, one day, publicly burnt heretics, should, the next, not only think them guiltless, but conform to their opinions.

A peace with France soon followed: whilst it was negotiating, Philip used his utmost efforts to make the restitution of Calais an article in the treaty: every consideration of honour required him to make good to England the loss she had sustained in a war entered into merely on his account: but what may be supposed from the

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. p. 10. † Goldsmith.

general character of this prince, to have weighed with him more strongly, was, his interest being essentially concerned in dispossessing France of a barrier to the Low Countries. Besides these motives, another cogent one subsisted: he entertained hopes of espousing Elizabeth; and until the change of religion in England shut out his prospect of such an alliance, he was thereby urged to make the surrender of Calais the essential condition of a peace. After Elizabeth had openly declared herself the patroness of the protestant cause, though all his own terms with France were settled, he yet seemed willing to continue the war till the queen should obtain satisfaction: but this apparent regard for England, was dictated by a hope of securing that court in the interest of Spain, and engaging her farther assistance against Henry of France. Elizabeth, however, understood the true interest of her kingdom too well to be longer embroiled in foreign wars. She severely felt the consequences of the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; she saw the disorders which had been introduced into every part of the administration; the inveteracy of religious disputation, which had soured the minds of the people; and she was convinced, that nothing but wisdom, patriotism, and tranquillity, could impart soundness and vigour to this debilitated country. As she was well convinced of the real motives which made Philip adhere to her interests to the apparent neglect of his own, she directed her ministers to conclude a peace with France, without the intervention of the king of Spain. She well knew the value which Henry put upon Calais, and chose rather to sustain its loss, than to attempt its recovery by rendering herself subservient to the views of Philip. The monarchs of France and England therefore agreed, that Calais

should be restored at the end of eight years; otherwise, five hundred thousand crowns should be paid by France, and the right of possessing it should remain in England: for the due payment of which sum, if it should be forfeited, seven or eight foreign merchants became bound, and hostages were delivered by the French king, for the due surrender of the place. All men of penetration clearly saw, that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais. A peace with Scotland soon followed that with France.

This treaty, however, was far from removing the apprehensions of the queen, with regard to the views of the French court. The dauphin, and his consort, openly assumed the arms as well as title of sovereigns of England; and it plainly appeared, that the king of France intended, on the first opportunity, to dispute the legitimacy of Elizabeth, and her title to the crown. Henry, the French king, dying, the dauphin succeeded to the throne of France, under the name of Francis II. Elizabeth, therefore, considered him and his queen as her mortal enemies. The suppression of the reformed religion, which had now obtained a footing in Scotland, was a favourite object with the court of France; and to effect this, considerable bodies of troops were sent over into that kingdom. These proceedings so alarmed the nobility of Scotland, that many of them had immediate recourse to arms; and not finding their own strength sufficient, applied for protection to queen Elizabeth, who, foreseeing the consequences of suffering the French to fix in Scotland, determined to supply the insurgents there with assistance, both by sea and land. Admiral Winter commanded the fleet which sailed to the frith of Forth, and blocked up the town of Leith by sea; whilst the army of the
Scotch

Scotch lords, and the English auxiliaries under lord Grey, besieged it by land, and presently obliged the French garrison that defended it, to surrender, thereby entirely frustrating the schemes of France. A treaty was presently after signed at Edinburgh; by which it was stipulated, that the French should immediately evacuate Scotland, that the king and queen of France and Scotland should, thenceforth, abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of sovereigns of that kingdom; and that farther satisfaction for the injury already done in that particular, should be granted Elizabeth. In order to hasten the execution of this important treaty, the queen of England sent ships, by which the French forces were transported into their own country||.

From the very beginning of her reign, Elizabeth had paid great attention to her navy: she caused a survey thereof to be made, and the causes of its decay to be strictly enquired into; and as a means of its restoration, she issued orders for preserving timber fit for the purpose of ship-building. So attentive was she to the augmentation of her navy, that presently the most formidable fleet was formed that England ever beheld. She considerably increased the pay of her naval officers and seamen; for the security of her fleet, which generally lay in the Medway, she built a strong fortress, called Upnore-Castle; she directed many pieces of brass cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making gunpowder in England, which had, till that time, been imported, on very disadvantageous terms: the countenance shewn to all sorts of artificers drew over foreigners skilled in the arts conducive to navigation; by the pains taken by the queen in maritime affairs, a spirit of emulation

|| 5th July, 1569.

was excited among her subjects, who began to exert themselves in repairing the ports throughout the kingdom; building vessels of all dimensions, particularly stout and large ships, fit for war as well as commerce. By such measures, says Camden, foreigners styled her the restorer of naval glory, and queen of the Northern Seas. "Elizabeth," says the abbé Raynal §, "impatient of contradiction, but knowing, and desirous of doing, what was right, at once despotic and popular, with the advantages of a good understanding, and of being properly obeyed, availed herself of that fermentation of people's minds, which was as prevalent throughout all her dominions, as it was through the rest of Europe; and while it produced, in other states, nothing but polemical disputations, civil commotions, or foreign wars, in England it gave rise to a lively emulation for commerce, and the advancement of navigation."

This great monarch had already † made some progress in discharging those heavy debts which were due from the crown; she also regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors.

The commerce from the ports of the province of Holland, before its revolt from Spain, was very considerable. Guicciardin relates, that the Hollanders brought annually from Denmark, Eastland, Livonia, and Poland, sixty thousand lasts of grain, chiefly rye: that the single province of Holland alone had eight hundred ships, from two hundred to seven hundred tons burden, besides above six hundred buxses for fishing. So that, for the greatness of its commerce, Amsterdam was even then next to Antwerp, of all the towns in the Netherlands. The same author speaks very fully to the

§ Hist. Polit. liv. III.

† An. Dom. 1661.

vast commerce carried on between England and the Netherlands at this time; and adds, that the merchants of both states had fallen into a way of insuring their merchandize from losses at sea, by a joint contribution; which is probably the first instance to be met with of insurance of ships, and their cargoes, from the dangers of the sea.

The attention paid to the manufactures of England, and the impediments thrown in the way of such branches of trade as interfered with the wholesome plan of policy then adopted, occasioned a great alarm throughout the Netherlands. The Flemings had long profited by the negligence and false politics which had blinded the eyes of the English to their natural advantages. Out of resentment of the restrictions thrown on the trade to the Netherlands, Philip II. of Spain, prohibited all his subjects from trading with the English at Embden, thinking thereby to compel queen Elizabeth to renounce the measures which she had adopted; but the firmness with which she adhered to her purposes, baffled all opposition; and the interest of the Netherlands called so loudly for a re-establishment of a good understanding with England, that the haughty Spaniard found it necessary to revoke all his prohibitions, and invite the English to a renewal of their commerce with his subjects.

A mine of pure copper was, about this time, discovered in the county of Cumberland. At the same time was found great plenty of the stone called lapis calaminaris, so necessary for turning copper into brass. Grain was, at this time, permitted to be exported, which served greatly to whet the industry of the yeomanry: grounds were thereupon broken up which before had lain uncultivated. But this permission was soon after revoked.

The

The first voyage made from England to the coast of Guinea, for the purchase of slaves, of which any traces now remain, was undertaken in the year 1562, by Mr. John Hawkins, with three ships. He procured three hundred negroes, which he carried to Hispaniola, and there exchanging them for the productions of the island, returned to England the next year; having made a very advantageous voyage.

In October 1564, he sailed from Plymouth, in a ship of seven hundred tons, accompanied by three other vessels, on another voyage to the Guinea coast, and thence to the Spanish West-Indies, where he traded to great advantage; and after visiting the port of the Havanna, returned to England through the gulph of Florida, in September 1565, bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities*. Sir William Monson informs us, that one of the ships which went this voyage with (now) Sir John Hawkins, was called the *Jesus*, and was built at Lubeck; that it was the last foreign built ship purchased by the queen, and was cast away in the port of St. John Ulloa, in New Spain, in the next voyage, in 1567.

The civil dissensions in the kingdom of France, which gave that court a pretence for oppressing those of the reformed religion, whom they called hugonots, produced, in the year 1562, very destructive consequences. A general spirit of rapine and confusion having spread itself through the inhabitants of that country, and the greatest crimes meeting with impunity, such as dwelt on the sea-coast, who were chiefly hugonots, fitted out ships to annoy their enemies; upon which the court party did the like; so that, at last, pyracies were frequent, and

† Stowe's Annals, p. 307.

the English trade suffered thereby so considerably, that the queen was at length compelled to interpose. The prince of Condé, who was a chief support of the French protestants, finding Philip had formed an alliance with the princes of Guise, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy, implored the protection of Elizabeth, who alone was able to support him and his cause, against such powerful adversaries. The greater part of the province of Normandy was possessed by the hugonots, and Condé offered to put Havre-de-Grace, then called Newhaven, into the hands of the English, on condition, that, together with three thousand men, for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand more, to defend Dieppe and Rouen; and should furnish the prince with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns*. Dudley, earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, took possession of the town; and immediately a swarm of privateers issued from that port, which greatly annoyed the French trade, and was no more than a retaliation on the court of France, for having granted the same licence to French ships against the English, immediately on the latter possessing themselves of Newhaven.

The contests concerning religion, which had distressed and weakened the kingdom of France, without giving either side a decided ascendancy over the other, having alike wearied both, they at length agreed upon an adjustment of their differences: a toleration, under certain restrictions, was granted to the protestants; a general amnesty was published; and Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments. By the agreement between Elizabeth and that prince, neither party was at liberty to conclude a peace

* Forbes's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 48.

without the consent of the other. But such restriction was disregarded by the French insurgents: they, however, procured a clause in favour of the queen of England, by which the queen-regent of France agreed, that Elizabeth should be paid her charges, as well as the money advanced to the prince of Condé, upon her relinquishing Newhaven; and that Calais should be restored to her, at the time specified in the former treaty*: but the English court preferred their present possession in Normandy, which commanded the entrance of the Seine, and was admirably suited for commercial purposes, as well as for the annoyance of the French, to the terms which had been made for its surrender: the governor was, therefore, directed to put the place in a good state of defence; whilst Montmorency, constable of France, commanded an army destined to lay siege to it; the queen-regent, and the young king, Charles IX. were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces, and gave countenance to this enterprise†.

The earl of Warwick was at the head of a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers. The reduction of Newhaven was, therefore, looked upon as a very uncertain contingency, notwithstanding the great force that was brought against it; but in the defence of this important place, the English had no opportunity of displaying that valour and firmness which characterise them: an epidemical distemper raged among the garrison before the siege was formed, which being increased by fatigue and bad diet, (for they were but ill supplied with provisions) soon made such ravages, that one hundred men would sometimes die of it in a day; and there remained not, at last, fifteen

* Forbes's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 79.
England, Vol. V. p. 77.

† Humes's Hist. of

hundred men in a condition to do duty. The French, meeting with such feeble resistance, carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, prepared for a general assault; which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. The governor, who had strongly represented to the English ministry, the necessity of a reinforcement of men, and a supply of provisions, without receiving either, was reduced to the necessity of capitulating, and was obliged to march his troops out of the town.* The articles of capitulation were no sooner signed, than the high admiral, lord Clinton, who had been long detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour, with a reinforcement of three thousand men! but finding the place surrendered, he could only take the remains of the garrison on board. To increase the misfortune; the troops brought the pestilential disease which raged among them, into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London; where above twenty thousand persons died of it in one year. †

This untoward event, plainly occasioned by the remissness of government at home, shews, that in this instance, the English ministry had relaxed of their usual spirit and activity.

In the year 1567 Sir Thomas Gresham, an eminent merchant of London, who, in the style of those times, was called the queen's merchant, (because he had the management of all her remittances, her money concerns with foreign states, and the payment of her armies beyond sea) erected a building in London, for the daily resort of merchants, for transacting their concerns with each

* 28th July, 1563. † Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. p. 80.

other. The queen would not have this place called, as in other countries, the Bourse, but gave it the name of the Royal Exchange. Upon its being finished, she came in person, and proclaimed its name with the heralds at arms. It was burnt down in the great conflagration, anno 1666, and soon rebuilt with much greater splendor, as it now appears. Before the erecting this building, there was a place in Lombard-street for the meeting of merchants; but the rapid increase of commerce had rendered it much too small for the purpose.

The terms fixed by treaty, for the restitution of Calais, expired in 1567; and Elizabeth, after making her demand at the gates of that city, sent Sir Thomas Smith to Paris; and that minister, in conjunction with Sir Henry Norris, her resident ambassador, enforced her pretensions. Conferences were held on that head, without coming to any conclusion satisfactory to the English. At length, the chancellor De L'Hospital told the English ambassadors, that though France by an article of the treaty in 1556, was obliged to restore Calais on the expiration of eight years, there was another article of the same treaty, which now deprived Elizabeth of any right that would accrue to her by that engagement. That it was agreed, if the English should during the interval, commit hostilities upon France, they should instantly forfeit all claim to Calais; and the taking possession of Newhaven, or Havre-de-Grace, by whatever pretences that measure might be coloured over, was a direct violation of the peace between the two nations. If it was urged that the place was not entered by force, but put into Elizabeth's hands by the governors, the reply would be, those governors were rebels, and a correspondence with such was a flagrant insult on the government. It was farther urged that

that at the treaty which ensued, upon the expulsion of the English from Normandy, the French ministers had absolutely refused to make any mention of Calais, and had thereby declared their intention to take advantage of the title which had accrued to the crown of France: and that, though a general clause had been inserted, implying, a reservation of all claims; this concession could not avail the English, who, at that time, possessed no just claim to Calais, and had previously forfeited all right to that fortress. The queen was not at all surprized at hearing these allegations; and as she knew that the French court intended not, from the first, to make restitution, much less after they could justify their refusal by such plausible reasons; she thought it better, for the present, to acquiesce in the loss, than to pursue a doubtful title by a war, both expensive in its prosecution, and dangerous in its issue.—If the court of France could, on other occasions, have urged as strong reasons for their conduct as they did in this instance, much bloodshed would have been prevented on the side of each nation.

In the beginning of the same year, Sir John Hawkins sailed to the relief of the French protestants in Rochelle, who were persecuted contrary to the faith of treaty, by the French government, and returned to England in the summer. In the month of October following, he sailed from Plymouth, in the same ship with which he had before gone to the coast of Guinea, on a third trading voyage thither, with six ships in company. Having procured a large number of slaves, he proceeded to Spanish America, there to dispose of them. The governor of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade, Hawkins landed, and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion; for afterwards they traded together in a friendly man-

ner, till most of the negroes were disposed of*. He thence sailed to Carthagena, where he disposed of the rest; but in returning home, he was overtaken by storms on the coast of Florida, and obliged to shelter himself in the harbour of St. John de Ulloa, in the bottom of the Bay of Mexico. The appearance of English ships spread an alarm through the place, which Sir John Hawkins endeavoured to remove, by expressing his pacific disposition, and that he only wanted to be supplied with provisions, for which he was ready to pay. This request would have been chearfully complied with, if the Spanish Plate-fleet had not appeared off the coast; the English captain, fearful of some treachery being practised, now that so large a force was collected, stipulated with the new viceroy, who arrived in the fleet, that hostages should be mutually given, for the observance of peace on both sides; and that the fortress, with eleven pieces of brass cannon therein, should be yielded up to his crew whilst they continued there; which conditions were, at length, consented to by the Spanish governor: but three days after this, before they were put in force, the Spaniards attacked such of the English as were on shore, killed many, and drove the rest back to their ships. A furious engagement then ensued, and in an hour's time, the admiral of the Spaniards, and another ship, were supposed to be sunk, and their vice admiral to be burnt: so that the English had little to fear from the enemy's ships; but they suffered exceedingly from the ordnance on shore, which sunk their small ships, and damaged the masts and rigging of their larger ones. Only two ships, the *Minion* and *Judith*, escaped the fury of their enemies: and to increase the misery of those on board, they were

* Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. I. p. 454.

separated in a storm, and did not arrive in England until they had endured extreme perils, from the designs of the Spaniards, the want of provisions, and violent tempests*.

The command of the *Judith* was given to Francis Drake, then only twenty-two years of age, whom we shall hereafter have occasion to commemorate. In this desperate action he acquired great honour, but lost his whole substance. In order, therefore, to repair his fortunes, in the year 1570, he engaged several private adventurers to join him, in a kind of piratical expedition against the Spaniards; and, by their assistance, he was furnished with two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Swan*, with which he made his first expedition. After which he undertook several voyages to the Spanish main: by which he both enriched himself, and those concerned with him. His success in these expeditions, joined to his honourable conduct in distributing the profit among his partners, gained him a high reputation, and the manner in which he employed the wealth he had acquired, a still greater; for, fitting out three stout frigates at his own expence, he sailed with them to Ireland, where, under Walter earl of Essex, the father of that nobleman who will be hereafter spoken of, he served as a volunteer, and did many brave feats.

Charles IX. king of France, breathing a spirit of persecution against such of his subjects as adhered to the tenets of protestantism, queen Elizabeth by her ambassador Norris, very cogently remonstrated. According to Camden, in his history of this reign, she exhorted the king “not to incense
“ his good people, the protestants, by trying arbitrary and dangerous experiments; but rather to

* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 524.

“ beware

“beware of those bad ministers, who, by driving
 “out his best subjects, did but weaken the power
 “of France to such a degree, as to leave it an easy
 “prey to those who desired to disturb it.” But
 these conciliatory interpositions being disregarded,
 the queen determined to support the protestant
 cause, by furnishing those oppressed people with
 money, arms, and ammunition: and by giving every
 encouragement to such as were inclined to settle in
 England, she greatly augmented the wealth and po-
 pulousness of her own kingdom.

The law against usury, or the taking interest for
 money, which had passed in the reign of king Ed-
 ward VI.* was now repealed, the legislature having
 become more enlightened. The mines of America
 had poured into Europe immense quantities of bul-
 lion; shipping, commerce, and manufactures, were
 making rapid advances; and the East-Indies were
 not, as yet, the vortex to swallow up the silver of
 Europe. The quantity of specie must, of course,
 be greatly increased, and be more than sufficient for
 the purposes of commerce, or for the purchase of
 lands. Besides, money now began to be considered
 as an improvable possession, as much as any species
 of merchandize, and the reasonableness of im-
 proving it was acknowledged: an act was therefore
 passed, reviving that of Henry VIII. for establish-
 ing the rate of interest at ten pounds per cent.
 per annum.

Whilst the spirit of the nation was roused to un-
 dertake the most distant and perilous voyages, it
 may be necessary to show, with what a high hand
 the queen carried her prerogative, and how much
 freedom of debate in the house of commons, was
 restrained, by the arbitrary mandates of the sovereign

* An. Dom. 1552.

and her council. In the parliament, which was held in 1571, a motion was made by one of the members, against an exclusive patent, granted to a company of merchants in Bristol. On which the queen sent orders to the house, by the speaker, commanding it to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches.* All the members understood, that her majesty had been offended, because a matter had been moved, which seemed to touch her prerogative. Whereupon a member observed, that the queen had a prerogative of granting patents; that to question the validity of any patent, was to invade the royal prerogative; that all foreign trade was entirely subjected to the pleasure of the sovereign; that even the statute that gave liberty of commerce, admitted of all prohibitions from the crown; and that the prince, when he granted an exclusive patent, only employed the power vested in him, and prohibited all others from dealing in any particular branch of commerce. He quoted the clerk of the parliament's book to prove, that no man might speak in parliament of the statute of wills, unless the king first gave licence: because the royal prerogative, in the wards, was thereby touched. He shewed likewise the statutes of Edward I. Edward III. and Henry IV. with a saving of the prerogative. And in the time of Edward VI. the protector was applied to, for his allowance to mention matters of prerogative†. Sir Humphry Gilbert, an enterprising navigator, whom we shall have occasion shortly to speak of, maintained the doctrine of prerogative with a still bolder latitude. He endeavoured to prove the motion to be a vain device, and perilous to be treated of; since it tended to the derogation of the prerogative imperial; which whoever should attempt so much as

† D'Ewes Journal, p. 159.

† Idem, 160.

in fancy, could not, he said, be otherwise accounted, than an open enemy. For what difference is there between saying, that the queen is not to use the privilege of the crown, and saying that she is not queen? And though experience has shewn so much clemency in her majesty, as might, perhaps, make subjects forget their duty, it is not good to sport, or venture, so much with princes. He reminded them of the fable of the hare, who, upon the proclamation, that all horned beasts should depart the court, immediately fled, lest his ears should be construed to be horns; seeming, by that apologue, to insinuate, that even those who heard, or permitted, such dangerous speeches, would not be entirely free from danger themselves. He desired them to beware, lest, if they meddled farther with these matters, the queen might look to her own power; and finding herself able to suppress their challenged liberty, and to exert an arbitrary authority, might imitate the example of Louis XI. of France, who, as he termed it, delivered the crown from wardship.† Though this speech gave some disgust, yet no other reply was made at the time, than that Sir Humphrey mistook the meaning of the house, and of the member who made the motion; as the house never had any other purpose, than to represent their grievances, in due and seemly form, unto her majesty. But, in a subsequent debate, Peter Wentworth, a man of a superior free spirit, called that speech an insult on the house; remarked Sir Humphrey's disposition to fawn on and flatter the prince; compared him to the camelion, which can assume all colours but white; and recommended to the house a due care of liberty of speech, and of the privilege of parliament‡. It appears, upon the whole, that the

† D'Ewes, p. 168.

‡ Idem. 175.

motion against the exclusive patent had no effect. Bell, the member who first introduced it, was sent for by the council, who severely reprimanded him for his temerity. He returned to the house, continues the same author, with such an amazed countenance, that all the members, well informed of the reason, were struck with terror; and, during some time, no one durst rise to speak of any matter of importance, for fear of giving offence to the queen, and the council. Even after the fears of the commons were somewhat abated, the members spoke with extreme precaution: and by employing most of their discourse in apologies and preambles, shewed their terror of the rod that hung over them. Whenever any delicate point was touched, though ever so gently; or barely seemed to be approached, though at ever so great a distance, a whisper would run through the house; "the queen will be offended; the council will be extremely displeased:" and, by these surmises, men were warned of the danger to which they exposed themselves. It is remarkable, that the patent which the queen defended with such impetuous violence, was contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the utter ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects*.

Let us now take a retrospective view of the state of affairs in the Low Countries, where a surprizing revolution was soon to take place.

The flourishing state of the Netherlands must be, in a great measure, ascribed to the nature and situation of the country, which laying in the centre of Europe, commands the entrance and navigation of several of the great rivers of Germany, and is almost every where intersected by those rivers, or by canals, and branches of the sea, whereby

* D' Ewes Journals, p. 242.

it is admirably fitted both for foreign and inland trade. This peculiar advantage of situation alone, could not, however, have enabled the Flemings to leave the other European nations so far behind them, if the form of their civil government had not been peculiarly favourable to their exertions. The greatest advantages which nature affords for improvement in the arts of life, may be rendered useless to the people who possess them, by an injudicious, or tyrannical and oppressive exercise of the civil power: universal experience testifies the vanity of expecting that men will apply themselves, with vigour, to commercial pursuits, whilst their persons are insecure, or the fruits of their industry may be seized, by the rapacious hand of a despotic prince. Happily for the inhabitants of the Low Countries, the sovereigns of the several provinces (unable, perhaps, from the small extent of their dominions to execute any plan of tyranny against the people) were, at a very early period, induced to give their consent and sanction, to a liberal code of laws; by which, although their prerogative was abridged, yet their power and resources were greatly augmented, through that prosperity which their moderate government had enabled their subjects to attain||.

The sovereignty of these flourishing provinces passed from the family of Burgundy into that of Austria, by the marriage of the heiress of the one house, with the heir of the other. Charles V. together with his other vast possessions, inherited these provinces. Though he ruled Spain and Germany with an oppressive sway, yet many considerations led him to refrain from introducing among the Flemings, the same sort of arbitrary government which was established in his other dominions.

He was born in the Netherlands, and had there passed the most pleasant of his juvenile days. He had, therefore, a predilection for the people, and, in consequence, for their manners: his preceptor, Adrian, afterwards advanced to the papacy, was a native of Utrecht: in all his wars he placed particular confidence in his Flemish troops, whom he had ever found the most intrepid and attached. This prince would gladly have possessed his son Philip with the like affection for his Flemish subjects: to effect which he had caused him to reside, for some time, in the Netherlands, in his younger years; and when Charles had determined upon exchanging his palace for a convent, he exhorted him to cultivate the affections of the Flemings, and to govern them according to the laws to which they had been so long accustomed, and were so strongly attached. But Philip could not enter into his father's views. Though he had occasionally resided in Flanders, he had received his education in Spain, and there he had learnt to entertain the most superstitious reverence for the holy see, and had imbibed extravagant ideas of regal authority. That love of power, which was the predominant passion in the father's breast, was not less violent in that of the son, in whom it was preserved, and inflamed by the influence of an illiberal cruel, and gloomy superstition. The first cause of jealousy given the Flemings was, the appointment of foreigners to places of trust in the Netherlands. This unpopular measure was presently succeeded by an avowed design to extirpate the new opinions in religion, which were then gaining ground very fast. For this end Philip established a particular tribunal for the extirpation of heresy, which, though not called by the name of an inquisition, differed nothing from it in its cruel and oppressive jurisdiction.

The most dreadful apprehensions were excited by this institution, which the Flemings considered as utterly subversive of every natural right which they had hitherto uninterruptedly enjoyed. They foresaw the ruin of their commerce, which could subsist no longer than the foreign merchants; many of whom were protestants, could reside among them with safety.

Whilst the king of Spain prosecuted measures so extremely oppressive and ruinous, two of the most illustrious characters among the Flemings, conceived great disgust at his conduct. One of them, count Egmont, descended from the dukes of Guelderland, had gained immortal honour by the victories of St. Quintin and Gravelines; the other, the prince of Orange, representative of the ancient and illustrious family of Nassau, in Germany.

A war with the Turks diverted Philip, for some time, from carrying into effect the system of tyranny which he had projected for the Flemings: but no sooner was peace restored in that quarter, than the fury of religious rage, that fruitful source of human misery when armed with power, settled on the territories of Flanders, to make desolate the abodes of peace. This bigotted prince, who may justly be called the scourge of mankind, bent on the suppression of heresy, gave positive orders for enforcing obedience to the decrees of the council of Trent, throughout the seventeen provinces, which Charles V. had distinguished by the title of the circle of Burgundy. A violent opposition to these mandates was every where shewn; on which Philip sent the duke of Alva, in 1567, at the head of a strong and well disciplined army, (that ready executor of a tyrant's will) as governor of the Netherlands, to enforce obedience.

Alva was a man perfectly qualified to carry into effect the most oppressive plan of government: he
had

had distinguished himself alike for the talents of a general and a statesman; and possessed by nature, what others acquire by a savage education, and long practice, a relish for shedding blood. The miseries of his fellow creatures, by a perverted organization of his frame, seemed to contribute most to his enjoyment; and his infernal spirit sported itself in contriving ingenious refinements in the means of inflicting torture. The arrival of such a man spread consternation through the provinces: many thousands quitted the Netherlands, among whom was the prince of Orange; but count Egmont, who still continued at Brussels, was immediately committed to prison, in open violation of the most sacred privileges of the people. Such a proceeding filled catholics, as well as protestants, with terror. Men of all ranks began to abandon their habitations, insomuch that one hundred thousand persons are computed to have fled into foreign parts: but this was only a prelude to the acts of tyranny which will ever stamp with infamy the name of Alva. The inquisition was now established with all its terrors, whilst the governor had disposed his army in such a manner, as best to secure the accomplishment of his plan of tyranny. In short, that country, heretofore highly distinguished for the mildness of its government, and the happiness of its people, became exposed to the outrages of a rapacious soldiery; whilst the governor was subduing and breaking the spirit of the people, by confiscations, imprisonments, and executions.

At length the prince of Orange, roused by the miseries under which his country groaned, openly declared himself in favour of the exiled and oppressed Flemings, and put himself at their head in 1568. Soon after which count Egmont was brought to a mock trial, condemned, and beheaded. Although

though the insurgents at first, gained a considerable advantage over a body of troops sent against them, yet they were at length defeated by Alva in person, and were no longer able to make head against the tyrant.

This success of the duke's arms and councils gave great uneasiness to some of the neighbouring princes, and particularly to the queen of England. That wise princess had, from the beginning of her reign, beheld with anxiety, the growing power of the Spanish monarchy. She knew how much Philip was inclined to disturb her government, and was sensible of the advantage which the vicinity of his dominions in the Netherlands afforded him, for carrying any scheme which he might form against her, into execution; especially at the present period, when, instead of the limited prerogative which he had, till then, enjoyed in those provinces, he had acquired an absolute and despotic power, and established a military force, which was formidable to the neighbouring nations, as well as to the people whom it had been employed to subdue. Prompted by these considerations, she had granted her protection to the Flemish exiles; and, if we may credit some historians, she had given secret assistance, in money, to the prince of Orange. The situation of her affairs at home, where she was disquieted by the machinations of the queen of Scots, rendered it inexpedient for her to come to an open breach with the Spanish monarch; but, notwithstanding this, she had resolved to lay hold of the first proper opportunity that should occur of counteracting his designs.

It was not long before an occasion of this kind offered, which she readily embraced. Some merchants of Genoa having engaged to transmit certain sums of money for Philip's use, into the Netherlands,

lands, had put four hundred thousand crowns on board five small vessels, which being attacked by privateers on their way to Antwerp, were obliged to take shelter in the harbours of Plymouth and Southampton. The Spanish ambassador at the court of London, immediately applied for a safe conduct, that he might send the money by the nearest way to the Low Countries. At first the queen seemed willing to grant his request; but afterwards she ordered the ambassador to be told, that as she understood the money was the property of the Italian merchants, she was resolved to detain it, for some time, in her own hands, and would take care that the owners should not have any reason to complain. The ambassador endeavoured to make it appear, that the money belonged to the king his master; and he was seconded in his application for it by letters, addressed to the queen, from the duke of Alva. Elizabeth lent a deaf ear to their remonstrances, and discovered plainly, that she was resolved to keep the money. Alva was not of a temper to endure this insult patiently. It was ever more agreeable to his nature to bear down opposition by force and violence, than to remove it by the gentle means of negotiation. Without regarding the treaties subsisting between the English and the Flemings, and without consulting either the states, or the council of the Netherlands, he ordered all the English merchants at Antwerp to be seized, cast into prison, and their effects confiscated. Either he did not consider, or he was not moved by the consideration, that the Flemings had, at that time, a much greater quantity of goods in England, than the English possessed in Flanders. Elizabeth, therefore, was not diverted from her purpose by this proceeding. She hereupon dispatched an ambassador to Philip, to complain of
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the injustice done her subjects, who not being able to obtain satisfaction, she proceeded to make reprisals, and seized effects belonging to Spanish and Flemish merchants, by which her subjects were more than compensated for all the losses which they had sustained in Flanders. Alva came, at last, to perceive his error, and sent over Christopher Assonville to England, to negotiate terms of accommodation with the queen. Elizabeth, who took pleasure in mortifying the pride of Alva, refused to admit Assonville into her presence, because he had not credentials from Philip. Alva, more enraged than ever by this affront, prohibited the people, in the Low Countries, from holding any commercial intercourse with the English; but, at last, after various negotiations, the matter was adjusted by treaty, and the trade put upon its former footing, in the year 1574*.

Meanwhile the prince of Orange, after the unsuccessful attempt that had been made to restore liberty to the Flemings, joined the French protestants in 1568, who were also struggling against religious and civil tyranny. He was present, and bore a considerable part in the several actions which passed between the catholics and calvinists; but being too deeply interested in the affairs of the Netherlands, to remain long at so great a distance from them, he left his brother, count Louis, to command the German forces in France; and returned, after the campaign of 1569, to his county of Nassau, in Germany, where he employed himself in making preparations for trying his fortune, once more, against the Spaniards. The duke of Alva, by this time, had even increased the hatred which the people bore his person and government.

* Watson's Hist. of Philip II. Vol. I. p. 276.

The prince, therefore, received the strongest assurances, by catholics as well as protestants, of their disposition to revolt; but as the miscarriage of the former attempt had arisen from a want of money to maintain a war, he resolved not to begin any military operations, nor even to levy forces, until he was possessed of the means of providing for them.

Soon after Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, many of those who had left the country on account of his persecutions, united together, and fitted out a great number of armed vessels, with which they seized all the Spanish ships, which they met with on the Flemish or English coasts. These adventurers had lately, through the violence of Alva's administration, received great increase of number; and had been joined by many persons of rank, who had acquired an ascendancy over them. They were all strongly attached to the prince of Orange, on whose wisdom alone they built their hopes of restoration to their native country: they, therefore, warmly solicited him to take the direction of their affairs. To carry their designs into effect, it was agreed, that each master of a ship should receive a commission from the prince, and pay a fifth part of the value of all prizes, to officers appointed by him to receive it. As the fleet, which had been thus got together, was greatly superior to any which the duke of Alva possessed, they did incredible mischief to the Spanish merchants; and sometimes the Flemish ships were exposed to their depredations.

The prince of Orange maintained a very secret, but a very general correspondence, all over the Netherlands; and, in a short time, a plan was concerted, for delivering the maritime towns into the hands of the protestant exiles. So universally

odious was the Spanish government become, to the catholics as well as the reformers, that none were disposed to inform the governor of the plots that were carrying on. They were averse from gratifying a man, whom they had so much reason to detest; and abhorred the thoughts of that cruelty which they knew would, in case of a discovery, be exercised against all concerned, or even suspected.

It was not till an overt-act of hostility was committed, that the duke of Alva was apprized of the measures concerting. This discovery excited, in his breast, a perturbation of rage and indignation. Instead of being convinced hereby of the expediency of adopting milder measures than he had hitherto employed, it served only to whet his appetite of revenge, and determine him to wade through more scenes of blood.

The civil war which broke out in 1571, was carried on with the bitterest rancour, and most shocking cruelty, on both sides.

In the year 1572 the sea was covered with the ships of the insurgents, which blocked up the entrance of the several ports in the Low Countries. An account of this formidable state of their navy had not been transmitted to Spain; so that when the duke of Medina-cœli, who was sent by Philip to succeed the duke of Alva in the government of the Netherlands, who, on account of his health, had applied for leave to return to Spain, arrived, he fell unawares into the midst of their fleet. He had with him fifty ships, on board of which were two thousand soldiers: twenty-five of the largest of these ships were taken; some of the rest escaped to Rammekins and Middleburg; and the duke himself got, with difficulty, into the harbour of Sluys. The protestants found, on board the ships which they took, two hundred thousand guilders in specie; and

and the ships, with the effects which they contained, were valued at five hundred thousand guilders. Their next success was in an attack upon a fleet of twenty sail, which the duke of Alva was sending to Middleburg, with troops, ordnance, pikes, and gunpowder, for the use of the garrison. The exiles attacked these ships before they had quitted the harbour, and took the whole fleet, which, together with the military stores, they carried to Flushing. Another fleet, fitted out for the same purpose at Sluys, was equally unfortunate. The Zealanders being informed, by their partizans, of the destination of this fleet, and of the time fixed for its departure, took three of the ships, in the short run between Sluys and the Isle of Walcheren, and had the boldness to pursue the rest into the harbour of Rammekins, where, notwithstanding the fire of the garrison, they took some, and burnt the rest *. These successes encouraged them to attempt the reduction of the important city of Middleburg; but in this they proved unsuccessful.

The reason which Alva assigned for quitting his government of the Low Countries, was considered by many as only a pretext, and that his real motive for making the request was, the apprehensions which he had entertained, that Philip had been worked upon by his enemies, and would soon supersede him in his post. There is, however, very little reason to suppose that Philip was, in the smallest degree, dissatisfied with the conduct of his viceroy, since all his acts of tyranny and violence appear to have been executed in strict conformity to his instructions. But Philip having, at last, become diffident of the success of those cruel measures which he had hitherto prescribed, had resolved,

* Watson's Hist. of Philip II. Vol. i. p. 311.

not from choice, but necessity, to make trial of some more gentle expedients. He knew how unfit the duke of Alva was to be employed in the execution of a milder plan of government; and he believed, that no concessions would prove acceptable to the revolted provinces, that could be made by one, who had rendered himself so much the object of their abhorrence. He had, therefore, readily consented, that Alva should retire. The duke of Medina-cœli found, on his arrival, that the provinces were in a very different state from that in which he expected to have found them, and that the charge which he had undertaken, would be attended with much more difficulty than glory. He, therefore, declined entering upon it, and afterwards obtained leave from Philip to return to Spain. He remained, however, in the Low Countries, till towards the end of the year 1573, when Requesens, the new governor, arrived. Alva then resigned the government into his hands, and set out, with his son, by the way of Germany and Italy, for Spain.

As his influence in the cabinet first occasioned the rigours of the Spanish government to be introduced into Flanders, both the catholics and protestants considered him as the chief source of all the calamities in which their country was involved. By a flagitious course of tyranny, which can hardly be paralleled in the history of mankind, he had kindled the flames of war, which he was conscious of being unable to extinguish. He is said to have boasted to the count Koningstein, uncle to the prince of Orange, at whose house he rested in his way to Italy, that, during his government of five years and a half, upwards of eighteen thousand heretics had suffered by the hand of the public executioner; besides a much greater number, whom he
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had put to the sword, in the towns which he took, and in the field of battle. An historian relates, that he was never observed so much as to smile but once in his whole life; and that was excited by a woman beating out the brains of a soldier, with a mallet, with which she was at work, on his attempting a rudeness to her, whilst the duke was marching some troops hard by Haerlem.

The situation of the Low Countries, during Alva's administration, was truly deplorable. His persecutions were not confined to the protestants; but great numbers of the catholics were put to death, and their effects confiscated, under pretence of their having given entertainment to heretics, or of having held a correspondence with them in their exile. Wives were punished with the utmost severity, for affording shelter to their husbands, after they had been condemned; children for performing the like kind offices to their parents; and, in Utrecht, a father was executed for allowing his son, who had returned from banishment, to lodge under his roof for one night. By forcing so many thousands of the most industrious inhabitants to leave the country, and by neglecting to provide a naval force to oppose the exiles at sea, commerce was almost entirely ruined; notwithstanding which, the governor imposed upon the people more oppressive taxes than they could have borne, if they had continued in their former flourishing condition. In levying these taxes the utmost rigour was employed. The people were often wantonly provoked, and tumults purposely excited, from which occasion was taken to punish them with confiscation of their goods, and sometimes even with death. From the forfeitures and taxes large sums were raised; yet the numerous army, which he was obliged to have constantly embodied, and the building of citadels

tadels to keep the principal towns in awe, exhausted the whole of these revenues: the king of Spain afforded him but little assistance, that monarch being engaged in other ruinous enterprizes; so that Alva frequently found himself at a loss to pay his troops; which, whenever it happened, he permitted his soldiers to live at free quarters upon the inhabitants, whom they treated in the most cruel and oppressive manner*.

Such was the state of the Netherlands: on the side of France, the inveterate abhorrence entertained by Charles IX. against the hugonots, in which he was confirmed by his mother Catharine de Medicis, who had been appointed regent during his minority, rendered the coalition, which had taken place in 1563, a very feeble security against the renewal of civil dissensions. But though the court of France was meditating the utter extinction of the reformation in that kingdom, its designs were concealed under the veil of such consummate dissimulation, as to deceive the most sagacious and penetrating observers. Walsingham, who was ambassador from England at the French court, gave his mistress the strongest assurances of the sincerity of those professions of friendship which the queen-dowager, and the king her son, made to the leaders of the protestant party. The king even proposed a marriage between his sister Margaret and the prince of Navarre, the head of the protestant interest. The admiral Coligni, with all the considerable nobility of his party, were drawn to Paris, in order to do honour to such auspicious nuptials, which, it was hoped, would compose the differences occasioned by the two religions, or, at least, appease the bloody animosity which they had produced. But whilst all the hugonots were reposing themselves in

* Watson's Hist. of Philip II. Vol. I. p. 392.

full security, the queen of Navarre, mother to the bridegroom, was poisoned, at the same time the admiral was dangerously wounded by an assassin; and, on the evening of St. Bartholomew*, a few days after the marriage, on a signal being given, a general massacre of all the protestants began, Charles himself, in person, leading the way to these assassinations. The hatred long entertained by the Parisians against the protestants, made them second, without any preparation, the fury of the court; and persons of every condition and age, and of either sex, who were suspected of any propensity to that faith, were involved in one undistinguishing ruin. The great Coligni, his son-in-law Teligni, Soubise, Rochefoucault, Pardaillon, Piles, Lavardin, all of them men, who, during the late wars, had signalized themselves by the most heroic actions, were miserably butchered without resistance: the streets of Paris flowed with blood; and the people, more enraged than satiated with their cruelty, as if repining that death had delivered the victims from farther sufferings, exercised on their dead bodies all the rage of the most licentious brutality. About five hundred gentlemen, and men of rank, perished in this massacre; and near ten thousand of inferior condition†. Orders were instantly dispatched through all the provinces, for a like general execution of all the protestants; and in Rouen, Lyons, and many other cities, the people emulated the fury of the capital. Even the murder of the king of Navarre, and prince of Condé, had been proposed by the duke of Guise; but Charles was not yet rendered so obdurate by his cruelties, as to be insensible to the amiable manners of the king of Navarre; and hoping that both these young princes might easily be con-

* 24th August, 1572.

† Davila, liv. V.

verted to the catholic faith, he determined to spare their lives, though he obliged them to purchase their safety, by a seeming change of their religion*. The French ambassador, at the court of London, was directed to acquaint Elizabeth of this bloody transaction, and to palliate the diabolical perfidy of it, by pretending, that a conspiracy of the hugonots had been discovered, which aimed at seizing the king's person, and therefore that self-defence had urged him to this severity against them. Fernelon, the minister, a man of probity, felt an inward abhorrence at the treachery and cruelty of his court, and even scrupled not to declare, that he was now ashamed to bear the name of a Frenchman †. The queen was obliged to express herself cautiously on this horrid deed, being well aware of the dangers that surrounded her. In the massacre of Paris she saw the consequences resulting from that general confederacy, which was formed against the protestants; and she knew, that she herself, as the head and protectress of the new religion, was exposed to the utmost fury and resentment of the catholics. The French king, Charles, and Philip of Spain, had hitherto appeared at variance, the better to conceal their sanguinary purposes; but now that the decisive stroke was struck, they avowed a cordial friendship; and if perfidy, barbarity, and bigotry, can cement friendship, these two princes ought to have been fast friends. Considerations regarding her own safety, therefore, prevented Elizabeth from uttering the emotions which she felt at these detestable proceedings. Meanwhile she prepared herself for all events which might arise from the combined power and extirpating spirit of the Romanists.

* Hume's History of England, Vol. V. p. 205.

† Digges, p. 247.

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She fortified Portsmouth; put her fleet in order; exercised her militia; cultivated popularity with her subjects; acted with vigour for the farther reduction of Scotland, under obedience to the young king James VI. and renewed her alliance with the German princes, who were no less alarmed than herself, at these treacherous and sanguinary measures, so universally embraced by the catholics.

In the midst of all these difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people, in prosecuting new schemes of trade abroad, or improvement of their lands at home. Drake, who had now distinguished himself for his intrepid spirit and great nautical skill, was patronised by Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain to the queen, and who was highly in her favour. By his means, Drake was enabled to undertake that grand expedition, which will render his name immortal.

In the year 1577 he sailed on his voyage round the world. He entered the South-Sea by the Straits of Magelhaen, with five ships, and one hundred and sixty-four men; attacked and pillaged the Spanish settlement of St. Jago, on the coast of Chili, in South-America; and so secure were the Spaniards in this remote part of the world, that every thing fell an easy prey to his arms. He, at length, took a ship immensely rich, called the *Cacofogo*. But soon after found himself reduced to only a single ship, in which, however, all his treasure was preserved. To avoid the Spaniards, in his reduced condition, he determined to proceed to the Moluccas, or Spice-Islands, and to return to England by the Cape of Good Hope; the route of the Portuguese ships. He was obliged to sail as far north on the Pacific Ocean, as the 48th degree, to fall in with the trade winds: whilst pursuing this track, he arrived off the coast of

California, the country beyond which he named New-Albion, setting up a pillar and a plate, on which were inscribed queen Elizabeth's name, titles, &c. After enduring many hardships, and escaping many dangers, he returned to England in November 1580.

Drake was the first commander who circumnavigated the world in one continued voyage. Magelhaen we have seen, fifty-eight years before, first sailed across the South-Sea; thereby demonstrably proving the orbicular form of the terraqueous globe. He can, however, be considered as the first man who went round the world, only from having, a few years before he set out on his last expedition, proceeded from the Molucca Islands to Portugal, the space which remained to be traversed by him at his death, in order to complete his circuit.

The persevering spirit of the English, was not to be shaken, by the former unsuccessful attempts which had been made, to find a passage to China and the east, without interfering with the Portuguese, by passing the Cape of Good Hope south-eastward; nor with Spain by going south-westward, by the Straits of Magelhaen. As the English had already ineffectually attempted a passage by the north-east, there seemed only the north-west passage to be explored, one attempt at which had been already made by Frobisher. To stimulate the nation to this undertaking, many treatises were published, founded on a very vague and romantic theory; but no one attempted, at that time, to expose its fallacy, and the general animosity then prevailing against Spain, strongly inclined England to undertake, with eagerness, any scheme that proposed to lessen the consequence of that kingdom. Urged on by the prevailing humour of the times, captain Frobisher undertook a second voyage in 1577, to determine
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this problem. He had one of the queen's own ships, and two barks, on board of which were one hundred and forty persons; but the undertaking proved as fruitless as the former one. He returned home the same year, freighted with glittering stones and sand, which he had procured on the northern extremity of America, expecting it to yield a prodigious profit; but to the great disappointment of the adventurers, this cargo was found to possess no intrinsic value. However, the inefficacy of this voyage did not induce the queen to abandon her favourite object. Frobisher, the next year, was sent out a third time, and returned without having made any other discoveries, than such as served to amuse the idle, and gratify the ignorant.

The first public treaty made by queen Elizabeth, with the states-general of the newly-united Provinces, on their revolt from Spain, was dated at Brussels, January 7, 1578, and is preserved in Rymer's *Fædera* *. The next year, at a general meeting of the states at Utrecht, a solemn compact was entered into, to defend each other, as one body; and, with united consent, to advise of peace, war, taxes, &c. and also to support liberty of conscience. From this union the most potent republic arose, in a few years, which the world had ever beheld, since the existence of ancient Rome; and, considered in a commercial and maritime light, the greatest that ever was on earth. In thirty years from its first establishment, it gained a footing in Flanders, by mastering the strong and important town and port of Sluyce, with Hulst, &c. It likewise totally destroyed the trade of the flourishing city of Antwerp; possessed itself of the barrier forts of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and other strong

* Vol. XV. p. 784.

holds on the Maese and Rhine, &c. Not exhausted by these vast enterprizes, the Dutch found themselves enabled to attack and annoy their enemy's ports; and so far were they from sinking under the expence attending so extensive a war, that the government grew rich as well as potent. Facts, so incredible in themselves, would never gain credit with posterity, if they were not supported by the most irrefragable testimony. Such is the omnipotence of commerce, industry, and parsimony! These are the happy consequences when public spirit prevails in every rank of the community; when the public revenue is carefully applied to the purposes of the state, and firmness executes the plans which wisdom forms.

Soon after this memorable period, the industrious and parsimonious traders of these United States, pushed into a considerable share of the commerce carried on with several parts of Europe, by which, England was supplanted at some foreign markets; yet the great accession of the fugitive Walloons into this country about the same time, whereby the old English drapery was so greatly improved, and several new and valuable manufactures introduced, more than compensated for the loss which our commerce sustained by Holland. The fisheries which the Dutch engaged in were so extensive, that they were enabled to supply almost the whole world with the produce of the ocean. Their East-India trade was, as it were, coeval with their own independence, and from its commencement brought in immense profits. In short, the Dutch, left no corner of the world unexplored, to derive, from thence, new sources of wealth. By which means Amsterdam soon became, what it still is, the immense magazine, or staple, for almost all the productions of the universe.

The English Russia Company, in the year 1580,
sent

sent out Pett and Jackman, with two barks, to attempt a passage to the East-Indies by the Straits of Waygatz and Nova-Zembla. After many perils and difficulties, from the ice and intense cold, one of them returned home unsuccessful, but the other was never heard of more *.

The provinces of Zealand and Holland now delivered from the Spanish bondage†, were growing considerable by their maritime power: this, however, produced a bad effect on the disposition of the common people, who committed great outrages at sea, and particularly on English ships. Unmindful of the services which had been rendered them, they justified their piracies under a pretence, that a correspondence was maintained by the English with the inhabitants of Dunkirk, with whom they were at war. At first their hostilities were exercised only on such vessels as were bound to that port; but, growing bolder through impunity, their insolence rose to such an height, that the queen sent out Mr. Holstock, her comptroller of the navy, with a small squadron, who quickly drove the Dutch frigates into their harbours, and sent two hundred of their seamen to prison. The queen, not satisfied with this punishment, sent Sir William Winter, and Robert Beele, Esq; to demand restitution of the goods taken from her subjects; which, however, they did not obtain; on this account the Dutch factors, residing in England, suffered very severely: but the refugees of all nations, who had fled hither for the sake of religion, were not only hospitably received, but obtained various privileges to invite their stay, and to fix in this country the manufactures in which they had laboured when at home. The French and

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 421. † An. Dom. 1578.

Spaniards, who could not but be sensible of the advantages this nation derived, and the loss which they themselves suffered, by the migration of their artificers, enacted several laws to prevent the evil, which operated, as oppressive acts generally do, to the encreasing the mischief which they were designed to prevent. Even that natural attachment and preference to one's native country, which is inherent in every breast, was extinguished by the cruelties which these people had suffered.

Philip saw England advancing, with rapid strides, into power and consequence; whilst all his secret negotiations, and open measures, had tended only to reduce his own power which they were designed to aggrandize. Queen Elizabeth had ever been the chief instrument in counteracting his plans of ambition, and had even assisted in depriving him of possessions which he had derived from his father, the emperor Charles V. We have shewn, that during the administration of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, differences had arisen between the court of England and the king of Spain's governor there; and that after much warmth on both sides, matters were, in some measure, accommodated in 1573: that accommodation was so far from being produced by any pacific disposition in either of the two powers, that it was a mere act of policy on both sides; neither having, as yet, gained that situation which was necessary for accomplishing its designs on the other. The catholic king had three points in view, not for distressing only, but for destroying queen Elizabeth, and utterly subverting the English state. The first of these was, uniting against her, under colour of religion, most of the princes and states of Europe; which, by the assistance of the pope, joined to his own extensive influence, he accomplished. His
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second point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the popish faction, and by maintaining, at a vast expence, such fugitives as fled from England. The last thing Philip had at heart, was, the providing as secretly as might be, such a force, as, with the assistance of his other schemes, might enable him to make himself master of England at once: to which end he, with great diligence, sought to increase his maritime power; and, under the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep, under the command of the prince of Parma, who then acted there, and who was one of the ablest generals that the age produced, such an army in constant readiness, as might be sufficient to achieve the conquest, when he should have a fleet strong enough to protect them in their passage. In the prosecution of these deep-laid projects, Philip met with many advantageous circumstances, which might, very rationally, encourage his hopes: particularly the death of the queen of Scots, which sullied the character of Elizabeth in foreign courts; and his own acquisition of the kingdom of Portugal, whereby he gained a vast accession of naval strength*.

The history of Mary queen of Scots, is so interwoven with the English history, that we shall here give a general sketch of the life of that unfortunate princess, from the death of her husband Francis II.

This princess becoming a widow at the age of eighteen, having brought no issue, and being deprived of her rank and consequence in France, she chose to re-visit her own kingdom of Scotland. Mary had desisted, after her husband's death, from bearing the arms and title of queen of England: she still, however, declined ratifying the treaty

* Rapin. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 389.

of Edinburgh, though strongly pressed to do it by Throgmorton, the English minister at the court of France. When she had determined on passing over into Scotland, she applied to Elizabeth for a safe conduct through England thither; but received for answer, that, till she had given satisfaction, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, she could expect no favour from a person she had so much injured. This refusal highly piqued the queen, who expressed her feelings, upon the occasion, very strongly to the English ambassador. As she was, therefore, necessitated to proceed by sea, Elizabeth, under pretence of suppressing piracies, fitted out a fleet; really with a design to intercept her kinswoman. Mary embarked at Calais, and had the good fortune, under favour of a fog, to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers, and to arrive safe at Leith. On her return to Scotland, the current of popularity ran strongly in her favour; her youth, and the amiable beauty of her person, were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. Thoroughly accomplished in all the superficial, but engaging graces of a court, she afforded, when better known, still more promising indications of her character; and men prognosticated, both humanity from her soft and obliging deportment, and penetration from her taste, in all the refined arts of music, eloquence, and poetry*.

As the Scots had long been deprived of the presence of their sovereign, whom they once despaired ever more to behold among them, her arrival seemed to give universal satisfaction; and nothing appeared about the court, but symptoms of affection, joy,

* Buchan. lib. XVII. c. 9.

and festivity*. At first she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the reformed party, who had the greatest influence over the people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. She created lord James earl of Murray, and entrusted him with the administration; but soon these favourable appearances vanished, by the queen adhering to the tenets of popery, which immediately alienated the affections of her subjects, and subjected her to very heavy inconveniencies. These internal commotions convinced Mary of the necessity of cultivating the friendship of Elizabeth, in order to support herself on the throne: not long after her arrival in Scotland, she, therefore, despatched her secretary to the queen of England, to pay her compliments, and express her desire of maintaining a friendly correspondence: at the same time he received a commission from the nobility of Scotland, to demand, as a means of cementing their friendship, that Mary should, by act of parliament, or by proclamation, (for the difference between these securities was not then deemed very considerable) be declared successor to the crown. Nothing could more effectually counteract the purpose of this embassy than such a requisition. The queen replied, that Mary had once discovered her intention not to wait for the succession, but had openly, without ceremony or reserve, assumed the title of queen of England, and had pretended a superior right to her throne and kingdom: that though Mary's ambassadors, and those of her late husband the French king, had signed a treaty, by which they renounced that claim, and promised satisfaction for so great an indignity, yet the queen of Scotland was so intoxicated with this imaginary right,

* Hume's History of England, Vol. V. p. 46.

that she had rejected the most earnest solicitations, and even, as some had endeavoured to persuade her, had incurred danger in crossing the seas, rather than ratify that equitable agreement: that her partizans, every where, had still the effrontery to insist on her title, and presumed to talk of Elizabeth's birth as illegitimate: while affairs were on such a footing, a claim, which had been thus openly made, so far from being as openly renounced, was only suspended for a more favourable opportunity: it would, therefore, be the most egregious imprudence in the queen of England, to fortify the hands of a pretender to her crown, by declaring her the successor: that no expedient could be worse imagined for cementing friendship than such a declaration; and kings were often found to bear no good will to their successors, even though these were their own children: there were, therefore, stronger reasons to suspect such consequences, where the connection was less intimate, and where such cause of disgust and jealousy had already been given, and, indeed, was still continued on the part of Mary: though the queen of England was willing, from the amity which she bore her kinswoman, to ascribe those former pretensions to the advice of others, by whose direction she was then governed; yet her continued refusal to relinquish them, could proceed only from her own prepossessions, and was a proof that she still harboured some dangerous designs; that it was the nature of mankind to be disgusted with the present; to entertain flattering views of the future; to think their service ill rewarded; to expect a better recompense from the successor; and she should esteem herself scarcely half a sovereign over the English, if they saw her declare her heir, and arm a rival with authority against her own repose and safety: she knew the inconstant nature of
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the people; their divisions in religion: she was not ignorant that the same party which expected greater favour during the reign of Mary, did also imagine, that the title of that princess was superior to that of her own; that for her part, whatever claims were advanced, she was determined to live and die queen of England; and after her death it was the business of others to examine who had the best pretensions, either by the laws, or by right of blood to the succession: that she hoped the claim of the queen of Scots would then be found solid: and, considering the injury which she herself had received, it was sufficient indulgence if she promised, in the mean time, to do nothing which might, in any respect, weaken or invalidate it; and that Mary, if her title was really preferable, a point which, for her own satisfaction, she had never enquired into, possessed all advantages above her rivals, who, destitute of present power, and of all support from friends, would only expose themselves to inevitable ruin, by advancing any weak, or even doubtful pretensions*.

This refusal of queen Elizabeth to the Scottish claims produced no farther altercation. Soon after, even a cordial intimacy took place between the two queens: each was lavish in professions of friendship to the other; and letters full of affection were every week exchanged between them. Such a sisterly attachment grew between them in consequence of this correspondence, that they agreed, to have an interview at York, to consider of the proper methods for settling the succession. Mary, who was ten years younger than her rival, and likewise possessed a more frank and open disposition, was, probably, the most sincere of the two,

* Buchan. lib. XVII. c. 14—17. Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. p. 57.

in these professions; Elizabeth, on her part, never designed that the proposed interview should take place. Besides the political reasons which led her, as a queen, to avoid having the matter of succession discussed, she had others, as a woman, which operated no less powerfully. She knew the superior advantages which the queen of Scots possessed in person, and feminine accomplishments; and wanted not that they should be displayed before her own court and subjects.

Mary had now been a widow three years; and Elizabeth justly dreaded, lest she should match with some powerful foreign prince, which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the crown, and to invade the kingdom on the side where it was weakest, and lay most exposed. On this occasion she assumed something of a dictatorial style, telling the queen of Scots, that her marrying an English nobleman was the only thing that would satisfy her (Elizabeth), as such an alliance would remove all grounds of jealousy, and cement the union between the two crowns; and she, at length, named Robert Dudley, whom she had created earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice might fall. This nobleman was the fourth son of the late duke of Northumberland, and held the chief place of favour with his mistress. Elizabeth seems to have made choice of her ministers as a queen, but of her favourites as a woman. Bacon and Cecil were men of great capacity, able politicians, and indefatigable ministers; all affairs of state were entrusted to their conduct, and the queen grew great and respected, by their counsels and support. Dudley had neither the abilities to form a statesman, nor the virtues which entitle a man to esteem; but he possessed the advantages of a good exterior form; was plausible and agreeable; and was,

was, therefore, constantly singled out by the queen for her gallant, in those pastimes and recreations which were frequently held at one or other of her palaces.

The earl did not at all relish the proposed marriage with the queen of Scotland: he considered it as a plan concerted by Cecil, who was his professed enemy, and who, he imagined, hoped thereby to deprive him of the friendship of both queens: the one, he supposed, would be disgusted at the presumption of such hope; the other, would resent his attaching himself to another woman*. Elizabeth herself had not any serious intentions of effecting this marriage; but as she was desirous of throwing obstacles in the way of any marriage for Mary, she named a man, who, she believed, was not likely to be accepted of; and she hoped, by that means, to gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. The earl of Leicester was too great a favourite to be parted with; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of being declared successor to the crown, seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, the latter receded from her offers, and withdrew the bait which she had thrown out. This duplicity of conduct, joined to some appearance of an imperious superiority, assumed by her, had drawn a peevish letter from Mary; and the seeming amicable correspondence between the two queens, was, during some time, interrupted. In order to make up the breach, the queen of Scots despatched Sir James Melvil to London; who has given us, in his memoirs, a particular account of his negotiation†.

Although Mary was sensible of the importance of keeping fair with Elizabeth, yet she had ventured

* Camden, p. 396. † Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. p. 84.

to make choice of a husband, without the consent of the queen of England: this was the young lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, who was then in his twentieth year, and possessed the advantages of a fine person, which soon captivated the youthful fancy of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth was no sooner informed of the marriage, than she vented the most violent displeasure against each of the parties, without advancing one good reason for her extreme resentment *.

Darnley, who, upon his marriage, received the title of king Henry, was more than suspected of adhering to the Romish faith: the reformation, which had gained great footing in Scotland, was accompanied, in that kingdom, with a more inveterate abhorrence of the rites and ceremonies of the church of Rome, than in any other of the protestant churches: the people, in general, therefore, were incensed, even to outrage, against their sovereign and her consort; and John Knox, a zealous reformer, scrupled not to tell the king from the pulpit, that God, for punishment of the offences and ingratitude of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women †.

Very soon after the marriage took place, the queen of Scots conceived a strong aversion to her husband, which soon increased to such a degree, that she did not scruple to give the most public proofs of it, by her behaviour towards him. It is generally supposed, that this dislike arose from the queen discovering a brutal and sordid disposition in Darnley, which rendered him insensible to her kindnesses, and disinclined to make her proper returns.

* An. Dom. 1565.

† Knox's Hist. of the Reform. p. 381.
Keith's Church of Scotland, p. 551.

There was, at that time, in the Scottish court, a man named David Rizzio, who was the son of a musician at Turin, and had followed the ambassador from that court into Scotland. He was a great proficient in music, and possessed a good voice, which introduced him into the queen's concerts, who was so taken with him, that when the ambassador departed, she requested him to leave Rizzio behind him. She soon after appointed him her secretary for French despatches, honoured him with particular marks of her esteem, confided in him, and ever kept him near her person. The new king, who possessed nothing but the name of royalty, could not, without jealousy, see this insinuating foreigner receive all the queen's favours, whilst himself was treated with the most mortifying contempt. Full of resentment against this upstart foreigner, who had drawn on himself the hatred of the whole nation by his arrogance, he determined to murder him; and that his resentment against the queen might be more expressly shewn, it was resolved that he should be assassinated in her apartments. George Douglas, a natural brother to Darnley's mother, the countess of Lenox, urged him to this deed; and the lords Ruthven and Lindesey, voluntarily undertook the business. Lord Darnley led the way to the queen's apartment, where she was at supper with her favourite; and conducted his accomplices, by a private stair-case, where they concealed themselves a while, after Darnley had entered the room. The fierce looks, and unexpected intrusion of her husband, alarmed the queen: a little after lord Ruthven, and George Douglas, entered abruptly, armed, and attended. The queen, terrified at their appearance, demanded the reason of this bold intrusion. Ruthven told her, they intended no violence

lence against her person, but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, appalled with fear, ran behind his mistress, and seizing her by the waist, implored her protection; whilst she strove to interpose between him and his murderers. The impatient assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey, and by overturning every thing that stood in their way, increased the horror and confusion of the scene. Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, struck it into the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and pushed into the antichamber, where he expired, covered with fifty-six wounds*. The queen was then in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and this horrid scene had such an effect upon the fruit of her womb, that it is said her child, who was afterwards king James VI. of Scotland, and the First of England, could never look upon a drawn sword without shuddering. The king, after this desperate step, caused Mary to be kept a prisoner in her palace; but she soon after found means to obtain her enlargement, and with it her former ascendancy in the government. Mary was delivered of a son at Edinburgh-Castle, 19th of June, 1566; and immediately thereupon dispatched Sir James Melvil to England, to announce this important event to Elizabeth. We find, in the memoirs of that ambassador, that he found the queen at Greenwich, giving a ball to her court, the evening of his arrival, and displaying all that spirit and alacrity which usually attended her on those occasions. But when he delivered her the news of the prince of Scotland's birth, her cheerfulness forsook her; regardless of the entertainment that was going

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 64.

forward,

forward, she reclined her head upon her hand, and complained to some of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock*. Next day, however, at the reception of the ambassador, she resumed her former dissimulation, put on a joyful countenance, gave Melvil thanks for the haste he had made in conveying to her the agreeable intelligence, and expressed the utmost cordiality and friendship to her sister †.

The queen of Scots, untaught by the tragical consequences which had followed her late attachment soon formed a very criminal engagement. The earl of Bothwell, of considerable family and power in Scotland, now began to hold the same place in her affections which Rizzio had before possessed. This amour led on to a catastrophe more terrible than the former: her husband fell a victim to it. His life was attempted by poison; but the strength of his constitution saved him for a short time. Whilst the queen resided in the palace of Holy-Rood-House, Henry was persuaded to reside in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field: an apparent reconciliation had taken place, and the husband's suspicions were lulled asleep, by the marks of kindness and attachment which the queen had lately shewn him, which were nothing more than a cover to her deep design of taking him off. At midnight the house was blown up by gunpowder, and the dead body of the king was found in a field, at some distance. Whether he was first strangled, or received his death by the force with which he was thrown by the explosion, is uncertain. Mr. Hume supposes his death to have been occasioned by falling on the ground, after he had been thrown into the air ‡.

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 69.
Vol. V. p. 107.

VOL. I.

† Idem, 70.

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‡ History of England,

Bothwell

Bothwel was universally charged with being the author of this atrocious crime; and, at length, the whole nation, with one general voice, demanded justice upon him from the queen; who, deaf to the complaints of her people, and the voice of decency, married the murderer of her husband, and prevailed on him to divorce his former wife, to make way for this fatal alliance. The scheme concerted to bring about this match was worthy of the parties concerned in it. Bothwel, with an armed force, met the queen in her way to Edinburgh, and with an apparent violence, carried her to Dunbar, where, as was pretended, he ravished her*. A few days after Bothwel received the queen's pardon for the violence committed on her person, *and for all other crimes*: the principal lords of the state were thereupon assembled, and prevailed upon to sign an instrument, purporting, "that they judged it the queen's interest to marry Bothwel, as he had lain with her against her will." These transactions stirred up the whole kingdom of Scotland against their sovereign: Mary, abandoned of all, was compelled to surrender herself a prisoner to the States, whilst Bothwel fled to the Orkneys, having been created duke of those islands. The queen was now confined in Lochleven-Castle, where she was compelled to resign her crown to her son, then only a twelvemonth old, and to appoint the earl of Murray regent, during the minority. The calamities of the great, however justly merited, excite pity, and procure friends: an army of forty thousand men declared in her favour, and she escaped from prison to put herself at their head. But this was only to encounter fresh misfortunes: the new regent took the field against her; a battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow, in which Mary was

* Spotswood, p. 202. Melvil, p. 80.

totally defeated*. Unable any longer to continue in Scotland, and unwilling to retreat to France in her present forlorn condition, where she had formerly appeared with so much splendor; and being unprovided with a ship to transport her there, she determined, as the least evil, to throw herself for protection on the queen of England.

As soon as Elizabeth was informed that the queen of Scots had taken shelter in her dominions, she directed the lady Scrope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, who resided in those parts, to attend on the princess; who was afterwards lodged in the castle of Carlisle, and treated with a respect becoming her rank: but, at the same time, Elizabeth refused to see her, until she had cleared herself of the crimes with which she was charged. Whilst a principle of justice might well warrant such a conduct, the queen hereby served her own purposes; for by this means, she, in a manner, constituted herself an umpire of the differences between Mary and her subjects; and both parties, accordingly, pleaded their cause before her; first at York, and then at Hampton-Court; Mary, by deputies of her appointing; and the earl of Murray, the regent, in person. The queen of England found it for her interest to protract the business; she, therefore, lengthened out the pleadings on both sides, and enjoyed the pleasure of seeing her rival humbled, without passing any definitive sentence. The regent of Scotland, to justify his conduct, in taking up arms against his sovereign, produced a number of love-letters and sonnets, written by queen Mary to Bothwel, which incontestably laid open, not only her vicious intercourse with that nobleman, but the part she took in the murder of her husband,

* 25th May, 1568.

the lord Darnly; and the contrivance of her being surprized by Bothwel, and forced by him, as already related above.

The authenticity of these letters, the commissioners, on the part of the queen of Scots, did not attempt to invalidate; and the proofs which they contained were so clear and unequivocal, as to leave little room for chicane or subterfuge. Her advocates, therefore, did not choose to attempt a defence, they only endeavoured to change the ground of proceeding; and, instead of entering into the question of the queen their mistress's guilt, or innocence, to solicit the queen of England to mediate between the fugitive princess and her subjects. The conference being broken off, Mary was removed, by order of Elizabeth, from Bolton, in Lancashire, to Tutbury, in Staffordshire, where she was put under the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury.

The misconduct of Mary produced great national mischiefs; the people, divided into factions, and inspired with mutual animosity, were seditious and unruly: the regent, in attempting to quell an insurrection, was slain.

Whilst Elizabeth was employed in bringing Scotland to a compliance with her measures, she found herself attacked in her own dominions*. Pope Pius V. who had succeeded Pius IV, after having endeavoured, in vain, to conciliate, by gentle means, the favour of Elizabeth, whom his predecessor's violence had irritated, issued, at last, a bull of excommunication against her. John Felton, granduncle to him whom we are shortly to see act another desperate part, affixed this bull to the gates of the bishop of London's palace; and, scorning either

* An. Dom. 1571.

to fly or to deny the fact, was seized, and condemned: he might have received pardon on acknowledging his crime, but he refused it to the last, and was hanged near the place, meeting death with the most undaunted fortitude. It seems probable, that this attack on the queen's authority was made in concert with Mary, who intended, by that means, to forward a rebellion, then fomenting among the Roman catholics in the north of England.

These efforts, in favour of the queen of Scots, only served to render her an object which the English ministry destined for destruction. However, the anathema of the pope being regarded by the nation with great indifference, the two queens entered into various negotiations, and frivolous treaties: the one attempting to humble her prisoner; the other, with fruitless pride, labouring to preserve the lustre of fallen majesty. The duke of Norfolk, the most powerful peer in England, had been encouraged by the earl of Leicester, and several other noblemen, to make a tender of marriage to the captive queen; and it was determined, among the promoters of this union, that the consent of Elizabeth should not be applied for, until they had strengthened their hands by a secret, but pretty general, communication of the design, to the leading men in Scotland, as well as those in England. The open lewdness of Mary, which had hurried her to the atrocious crime of confederating with her paramour, to murder her husband, did not prevent her from being sought in marriage, because she inherited a crown, although Bothwell, her third husband, was still living: but from that marriage they reckoned upon procuring a divorce. Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, was the most vigilant, active, and prudent minister ever known in

in England; and as he was governed by no views but the interest of his sovereign, which he had inflexibly pursued, his influence with her became stronger every day. Ever cool himself, and unbiassed by prejudice or affection, he checked those fallies of passion, and sometimes of caprice, to which his mistress was subject; and if he failed of persuading her in the first emotion, his persevering remonstrances and arguments were sure, at last, to recommend themselves to her sound discernment. The more credit he gained with Elizabeth, the more was he exposed to the envy of her other counsellors; and as he had been supposed to adopt the interests of the house of Suffolk, whose claim to the succession seemed to carry with it no danger to the quiet of Elizabeth, his enemies, in opposition to him, were led, merely from that motive, to attach themselves to the queen of Scots. The queen of England saw, without uneasiness, this emulation among her courtiers, which served to strengthen her own authority; and though she constantly supported Cecil, whenever matters came to extremities, and dissipated every conspiracy formed against him, yet she never gave him such unlimited confidence, as might enable him entirely to crush his adversaries.

This vigilant minister soon traced out the designs which were formed in favour of the duke of Norfolk; and though no overt-act of treason had been committed, yet the duke was seized on, and committed a prisoner to the Tower; from whence he was, after a short time, released, upon his promising to drop all intercourse with the queen of Scots. The duke, after this, finding that although his life was spared, yet the former confidence and favour which he enjoyed with the queen was lost, was hurried, by impatience and despair, to break
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his word, and open anew his correspondence with the captive princess. A promise of marriage was renewed between them: the duke engaged to enter into all her interests; and as his remorse gradually diminished in the course of these transactions, he was pushed to give his consent to enterprizes still more criminal. Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant residing in London, who was employed by the pope to negotiate with the catholics in England, proposed, that the duke of Alva should, on some pretence or other assemble a great quantity of shipping in the Low Countries, and transport a body of six thousand foot, and four thousand horse, into England; should land them at Harwich, where the duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; and should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose on her. The duke, in the whole progress of this business, shewed little sagacity and conduct; the penetrating and watchful eyes of the ministry soon discovered the whole plot. Norfolk was seized; a jury of twenty-five peers unanimously passed sentence upon him; and the queen, at length, after she had been withheld, either by real or pretended motives of compassion, (for no one could dissimble more speciously than Elizabeth) consented to his execution; but not before the house of commons had addressed her, in strong terms, on that head*.

A long interval succeeded, in which the plots of Mary and her adherents, seemed either to be to-

* 2d of June, 1572. This duke was grandson to Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, who has been spoken of as high admiral, when earl of Surrey; was sentenced to death in the reign of Henry VIII. and died in the year 1554. His father Henry, earl of Surrey, was beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII.

tally laid aside, or to have been incapable of being carried into effect. At length a very formidable conspiracy was formed, not only against the government, but the life of Elizabeth; in which the pope, the kings of France and Spain, the queen of Scots, together with the Roman catholic malecontents in England, were leagued. The chief instrument in bringing about this revolution was Babington, a native of Ireland, a man of parts and learning. By the assiduity of Cecil, now created lord Burleigh, and Walsingham, this formidable conspiracy was broken; fourteen of the conspirators were tried, convicted, and executed. There is no room to doubt that the queen of Scots had corresponded with Babington, and was a party in his conspiracy. The house of commons had addressed the queen, when the duke of Norfolk's defection was detected, that Mary, who had been the fomenter of those troubles, should, herself, be brought to a trial for her crimes, and, if found guilty, suffer death; but Elizabeth, to shew her clemency, forbore to take such severe revenge on her rival. The ministry were now, however, bent on bringing this princess to the scaffold†. To compass this design, it was resolved to bring her to a trial; not under the common statute of treasons, but by an act which had passed the former year, and which seemed particularly to be levelled at the machinations of this intriguing woman‡. Forty noblemen, and privy counsellors, were appointed, by the queen, to try Mary; and a deputation, from the whole body, was sent to apprise her of the process commenced against her. The queen of Scots received the news, without betraying the appearance either of surprize, or trepidation. She told the deputies,

† An. Dom. 1586.

‡ 27th Eliz. cap. 1.

that

that she came into the kingdom an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to be subject to her authority; adding, that her spirit was not so broken by her past misfortunes, nor so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, or that would disgrace the ancestry from whom she was descended, and the son to whom she should leave her throne. "If," says she, "I must be tried, princes alone can be my peers; the subjects of the queen of England, however noble their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner; its laws never afforded me any protection, let them not now be perverted to take away my life."*

This answer being reported to the commissioners, they sent a new deputation, informing her, that the plea either of her royal dignity, or of her imprisonment, could not be admitted; and that they were empowered to proceed to her trial, even though she should refuse to answer before them. They represented to her, among other things, that she was accused, indeed, but not condemned, of having conspired the destruction of queen Elizabeth: and that neither her situation, nor dignity, exempted her from judgment for such a crime, whether the doctrine laid down by the civil or canon law, or by the law of nature or nations, was adhered to.

Mary was, at length, diverted from her purpose, and prevailed on to answer before the court. † She was charged with having allowed cardinal Allen, and others, to treat her as queen of England; that she maintained a treasonable correspondence with

* Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 152.
p. 523.

† Camden,

Spain, designing thereby to encourage that court to attempt an invasion of England : by an intercepted letter of her's to the Spanish ambassador Mendoza, it was proved, that she had engaged to transfer to Philip her right to the kingdom of England, if her son should refuse to embrace the Romish religion. It was also proved, that she had instigated her adherents to seize the person of king James, and to deliver him into the hands of the pope, or the king of Spain. But the weightiest part of the charge brought against the queen of Scots was, her concurring in the design of murdering the queen of England, which was proved by copies taken of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the deed was clearly expressed ; and this was further confirmed, by the evidence of her two secretaries, and others, to whom Babington had shewed the letters. It is very probable that Mary was induced to acquiesce in a trial, relying on the assurances which had been given her, of the candid and favourable manner in which it would be conducted ; and presuming on the want of evidence, which there was, to bring home to her, the crimes with which she was accused : in which case her acquittal would follow, and every imputation would be wiped away. But her every motion had been much more narrowly watched than she had the least suspicion of ; and this security, probably, proved her destruction ; for it is not likely that she would have been executed, if she had continued to protest against the power of the court to try her, and on that account had refused to make any defence.

Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay-Castle, and met in the star-chamber at London ; where they pronounced sentence of death on Mary queen of Scots, and confirmed

firmed it by their seals and subscriptions. The same day a declaration was published by the commissioners and judges, setting forth, that “ the sentence did no wise derogate from the title and honour of James, king of Scotland ; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced.”*

Elizabeth affected the utmost aversion to put in force the sentence against Mary, although she was strongly urged to it by the parliament which she had called together, most probably for no other purpose, than by their interference, to give a sanction to that desperate measure.

When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been used, and as much delay interposed, as decency required ; she, at last, determined to carry the sentence into execution : but even in this final resolution she could not proceed, without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to spread a general alarm, rumours were dispersed, that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Milford-Haven ; that the Scots had made an irruption into England ; that the duke of Guise was landed in Suffex with a strong army : that the queen of Scots was escaped from prison, and had raised an army ; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection ; that there was a new conspiracy on foot to assassinate the queen of England, and set the city of London on fire : nay it went so far as to say, that the queen was actually assassinated †. She affected to be in terror and perplexity ; was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent ; and sometimes to mutter to herself half sentences, importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. At length she directed her secretary

* Camden, p. 529.

Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. p. 299.

† Camden, p. 533.

Davison, to draw a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which, she afterwards said, she intended to keep by her, in case any attempt should be made for the rescue of that princess. This warrant she signed; and then ordered Davison to carry it to the chancellor, in order to have the great seal affixed to it. Next day she sent Killigrew to Davison, enjoining him to forbear executing her order for some time: and when he came and told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation. Davison being in perplexity, acquainted the council with the whole transaction; and they endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale with the warrant: if the queen should be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The secretary, not sufficiently aware of their intention, complied with their advice; and the warrant was despatched to the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, ordering them to see the sentence executed on the queen of Scots*. In consequence of which, this princess was beheaded at Fotheringay-Castle, on the 7th of February, 1587. The firmness and composure with which she met her death, served greatly to obliterate the remembrance of those atrocious crimes, which had stamped with infamy, the former part of her life. Soon after, Elizabeth gave orders to have her body buried in the cathedral of Peterborough, with royal magnificence. But this vulgar artifice, says Dr. Robertson, was employed in vain; the pageantry of a pompous funeral did not efface the memory of those injuries which laid Mary in her grave†. But if ever the plea of state necessity,

* Hume's History of England, Vol. V. p. 311.
Scotland, Vol. II. p. 178.

† History of

so commonly urged by princes, when they do violence to the principles of reason and justice, deserves to be admitted, it will be found to have weight in this instance, as Elizabeth's life, as well as crown, were daily exposed to the plots and confederacies excited by her active and intriguing rival. King James, soon after his accession to the throne of England, ordered his mother's body to be removed to Westminster-Abbey, and to be deposited among the monarchs of England. She died in the forty-fifth year of her age, and nineteenth of her captivity in England. She was a woman of great accomplishments, both of mind and body, natural as well as acquired; but it is necessary to view her as a queen, in order to divert the attention from her vices, if we would wish to behold her in any other light than that of an abandoned woman.

When the queen was informed of Mary's execution, she affected the utmost surprize and indignation. She put herself in deep mourning for this deplorable event: none of her ministers, or counsellors, dared to approach her; or if any had such temerity, she drove them from her, with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment. She upbraided them with having been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, and with which they were fully acquainted*. She soon after wrote a letter of apology to the king of Scots, wherein she told him, that she wished he knew, without feeling, the unutterable grief which she experienced, on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much less concurrence, had happened in England. That she appealed to the supreme

* Strype, Vol. III.

judge of heaven and earth for her innocence; and was also so happy, amidst her afflictions, as to find, that many persons in her court, could bear witness to her veracity in this protestation; that she deemed nothing more worthy of a prince, than a sincere and open conduct; and could never, surely, be esteemed so base and poor-spirited, as that, if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, she could, on any consideration, be induced to deny them: that though sensible of the justness of the sentence pronounced against the unhappy prisoner, yet she had determined, from clemency, never to carry it into execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those, who, on this occasion, had disappointed her intentions: and that as no one loved him more dearly than herself, or bore a more anxious concern for his welfare, she hoped that he would consider every one as his enemy, who endeavoured on account of the present incident, to excite any animosity between them *.—After all this laboured artifice to exculpate herself from the imputation of Mary's blood, nothing can be plainer than that she meant her execution; for the intervening time between the arrival of the warrant at Fotheringay-Castle and the execution of the queen, furnished Elizabeth with an opportunity of revoking the order, if she had been sincere in her professions of sparing the life of one, at whose death she vented such boisterous effusions of grief.

Still farther to strengthen the protestations she had made, by her order Davison was committed to prison, and tried in the star-chamber for his misdemeanor. The secretary was confounded; and being sensible of the danger which must attend his

* Camden's Life of queen Elizabeth, p. 536.

entering into a contest with the queen, he expressed penitence for his error, and submitted, very patiently, to be railed at by those very counsellors, whose persuasion had induced him to incur the guilt, and who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied on him.

The important events arising out of the transactions with the queen of Scots, rendered it proper to trace the outlines of her history in this work, as without it, no clear idea can be formed of the state of the kingdom at that period; we have done this in one continued series, for the sake of perspicuity: it will, therefore, be necessary now to go back a few years, to relate commercial and naval occurrences.

Queen Elizabeth in 1582, granted a charter to certain merchants, empowering them to carry on an exclusive trade to Turkey, guarded with many reservations in favour of the crown. With the first factors that went out from England, to establish this trade, Hakluyt, to whom the world is much indebted for the earliest and best information concerning geographical and commercial matters, sent instructions, to enquire into the nature of dying the stuffs of Turkey, and into the art of dying: and what of those drugs which are there used for dying might be cultivated in England. In order that they might exert themselves in making these researches, he instanced the advantages that then had been derived to England, by bringing into the kingdom trees, plants, roots, &c. of foreign growth, which have thriven well, and been highly beneficial; as those instances of transplantation are very curious,

we

we shall transcribe them for the information of our readers. “ Saffron was first brought into England by a pilgrim; and also woad, originally from Tholouse in Languedoc. The damask rose by Dr. Linacre, physician to kings Henry VII. and VIII. Turkey fowls about 1532. The artichoke in king Henry VIII’s time. Afterwards the musk-rose, and several sorts of plums by Thomas lord Cromwell from Italy. The apricot by king Henry VIII’s French gardener. [No mention is made of peaches or nectarines, so that we may conclude they were of later date.] In 1578, from Vienna in Austria, divers kinds of flowers called tulipas; from Zante, in the Levant, the plant that bears the coren, and although it brings not fruit to perfection, yet it may serve for pleasure and for some use. [This shews that it was then but just introduced.] Many other things have been brought in that have degenerated, by reason of the cold climate: some things brought in have, through negligence, been lost: and archbishop Grindal brought the tamarisk plant from Germany, and many people have received great health by this plant†.”

Queen Elizabeth having granted a patent to Sir Humphry Gilbert, (half brother to Sir Walter Raleigh) for new discoveries westward; he made three voyages thither, the two first in 1578, and 1579, were attended with no advantages. In 1583, he failed on his third voyage from Plymouth, with five ships, and at Newfoundland was assisted by the English fishing ships there, in taking possession of that island for himself, under the crown of England. He had carried with him many artificers, with toys, &c. for traffic. Here he erected the

† Hakluyt’s Voyages, vol. II. p. 164, 165.

standard of England, and granted leases to many persons for stages to cure their fish; the Portuguese, French, and Spanish ships crews agreeing thereto. He thence sailed to Cape Breton, and to the coast of the continent of North America, where he lost one of his ships. Meeting with many other disasters, he returned homeward, but was lost in a storm, all on board his ship perishing: only one out of the five ships got safe back to Falmouth. Mr. Walter, afterwards Sir Walter Raleigh, then a young man, was deeply engaged in this project*.

In the same year Adrian Gilbert obtained the queen's patent for five years, for attempting the discovery of a north-west passage to China, by the title of *The Colleges of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-west Passage*; which scheme came to nothing†.

A charter was granted by queen Elizabeth, to a society of merchants and gentlemen, to make discoveries in America: Mr. Walter, above-named, set on foot this undertaking, and Amidas and Barlow, with two vessels, were fitted out for the purpose; they sailed so much to the southward, as to enter the gulph of Florida, and coasting it northward, anchored in a bay of what is now called Virginia. They brought home some pearls and tobacco, the first of the latter that had been seen in England. Either the queen, or Sir Walter Raleigh, gave the country the name of Virginia. Hereupon a patent was granted to Raleigh, for the possessing of such remote heathen lands, not then inhabited by Christians, as they should discover in six years, the property in which vested in them for ever, with a reservation to the crown of a fifth part of all gold and silver ore found therein.

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 425.

† Idem

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Among the many voyages undertaken for the purpose of discovery, which this reign produced, was one by Mr. Thomas Fenton, who sailed in May 1582, with three ships and a bark. He was employed by government in this voyage, and his instructions are preserved in Hakluyt*. By them he appears to have been directed to attempt the discovery of a north-west passage, by a new route; for he was to go to the Cape of Good-Hope; from thence to the East-Indies, and the Molucca Islands; after which he was to cross the great South-Sea, or Pacific Ocean, and endeavour to trace a river, of which Drake only formed a conjecture, when he anchored in a large bay in the country which he called New-Albion, and which was laid down about the 45th degree of north latitude. Here it was supposed that a passage might be found quite through the northern parts of America, and thereby a communication be formed with the Atlantic Ocean†; but by some means or other, this voyage took a different direction, and was attended with nothing of any national importance.

The year 1585 was rendered remarkable for the total destruction of the famous city of Antwerp,

* Vol. III. p. 704. † It was a favourite opinion of theoretic geographers that this river penetrated quite into the centre of North America and joined the great lakes; and, by their means, communicated with the river St. Laurence, and probably, without their intervention, with the Mississippi. Many attempts have been made by the French to ascertain what appeared so probable. As America grew to be of importance to Europe, the desire of gaining a knowledge of this became stronger: captain Jonathan Carver, an American by birth, penetrated farther into the interior parts of North-America, to the north-westward, than any European, or descendant of an European, ever did; and as far as the information of the Indians can be relied upon, the result of his travels is, that a river runs from the falls of St. Anthony, which is the farthest extent of the French discoveries, quite to the South Sea. One of the objects of captain Cook's third voyage into the South Sea, in which he unfortunately lost his life, was to explore this river. When he arrived in the given latitude, the weather was very tempestuous, and the danger of navigating the ships near the coast imminent. Although he was the boldest and most skilful navigator that ever went on discovery, yet he was unable to trace any such communication with the South Sea, so that it is highly probable it does not exist.

the most flourishing commercial city in the world, by the duke of Parma. Three thousand of its miserable inhabitants fell by the sword; fifteen hundred were either burnt or trodden to death; and as many drowned in the Scheld. The fury of Spanish bigotry and arbitrary power, disseminated the commerce and manufactures of the Netherlands; among most of the countries of Europe, west and north of the Mediterranean Sea. England received in great numbers, the merchants and workmen concerned in silks, damasks, and taffaties; and in bayes, faves, ferges, stockings: and it would have been yet more peopled on this dispersion, if foreign merchants had not been subject to pay double duties on their merchandize, and foreign artificers excluded from the immunities of natural-born subjects.

The same year the assembly of the Seven United Provinces sent deputies to queen Elizabeth, requesting her to take them under her protection, or else to grant them sufficient aid, during their war with the king of Spain. The queen refused to be their sovereign, but sent to their assistance the earl of Leicester, with an army of five thousand foot, and one thousand horse*: which nobleman gave great disgust to the Hollanders, by his imperious carriage; and, by his imprudence and incapacity, gave the duke of Parma, the Spanish general, considerable advantages over the confederacy, which he was too able a general not to improve.

Captain John Davis first sailed into the Straits of North-America, which now bear his name; and returned home, without having made any useful discovery. The use of the harpoon, for killing whales, was not then known; so that his voyage procured him no advantages from that fishery.

* Rymer's Fœd. Vol. p. 795, &c.

The second circumnavigation of the world, made in one continued voyage*, was performed by another Englishman, Mr. Thomas Cavendish, at his own expence, and was effected in two years and two months. He entered the South-Sea by the Straits of Magelhaen, with three ships, two of which he lost afterwards on the voyage. He followed the same track with Drake, proceeding along the western coast of all South-America; and, in his progress, greatly annoyed the Spanish settlements: a rich Spanish ship from the Manillas likewise fell into his hands. As the object of both these voyages was to harraßs the Spaniards, and make prize of their silver treasures, no geographical or scientific purposes were answered thereby. These long voyages were found so pernicious to the seamen, an inveterate scurvy, that marine pestilence, sweeping them off in great numbers, that no English ships are known to have visited the South-Sea from this time until queen Anne's reign, when on the breaking out of a war with Spain, two privateers from Bristol sailed on that distant and perilous destination.

The preparations made by Philip II. of Spain, for a descent on England, determined queen Elizabeth to counteract the designs of her enemy, by attacking his harbours and arsenals: accordingly Sir Francis Drake sailed with a fleet of forty ships for the Spanish coast†; many of the enemy's ships were destroyed or taken, and in the ports of Cadiz and Lisbon, above one hundred vessels laden with provisions and ammunition were burnt. Proceeding from thence to the Azores, he took a rich Portuguese carack from the East Indies, and an argosie full of rich merchandize. From the papers found on board the former ship, Camden tells us,

* An. Dom. 1586.

† An. Dom. 1587.

in his life of queen Elizabeth, that the English gained so thorough an insight into the nature and importance of the East India trade, as well as the manner of carrying it on, that an idea of forming a company to trade thither was thereby suggested, and a few years after an East India Company was incorporated.

The authority with which the earl of Leicester had been entrusted in the Netherlands, having been injudiciously exercised, and caused discontents and divisions in the newly united provinces; these Elizabeth was extremely solicitous to appease and heal, as the warlike preparations carrying on in Spain awakened the most serious apprehensions, and suggested to her that she would soon have occasion for all the assistance which her allies could afford her. Philip had been employed for several months in building ships of an extraordinary size, and in collecting stores for their equipment; while his general the duke of Parma, had made such numerous levies in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, as shewed that he intended the next campaign to take the field with a much more powerful army than any which he had hitherto commanded. The whole of Philip's reign had been passed in some or other warlike attempt. At one time he had waged war with the Corsairs and Turks: at another he had been engaged in the reduction of the Moreoscos, or of the kingdom of Portugal. Probably on these accounts it was, that he had never fully exerted his strength against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands. And although his nature strongly prompted him to revenge, yet he had not found leisure as yet to take vengeance on Elizabeth for the support which she had given them, as well as for the insults which he had received from her in America, where several of his colonies had been plundered
by

by her fleets ; and heavy depredations made by private adventurers, either acting under her authority, or secure of her connivance. As he thought himself sure of compelling the revolted Flemings to submit, with a much smaller force, than that he intended to employ, he determined to exert his strength in the invasion of England : and he indulged himself with the fond conceit, that he should be able, entirely, to subdue that kingdom. He remained, however, for some time doubtful, as to the manner in which he should proceed ; and held frequent meetings of his council to deliberate, whether it was most expedient to begin with the invasion of England, or first to reduce the United Provinces. Many of his most experienced counsellors advised the latter plan of conduct ; among whom was Farnese, duke of Parma, who assured the king, that he could not enter on the English expedition with a prospect of success, before he had acquired possession of some of the most considerable of the sea-ports in Zeeland, for the reception and accommodation of his fleet.

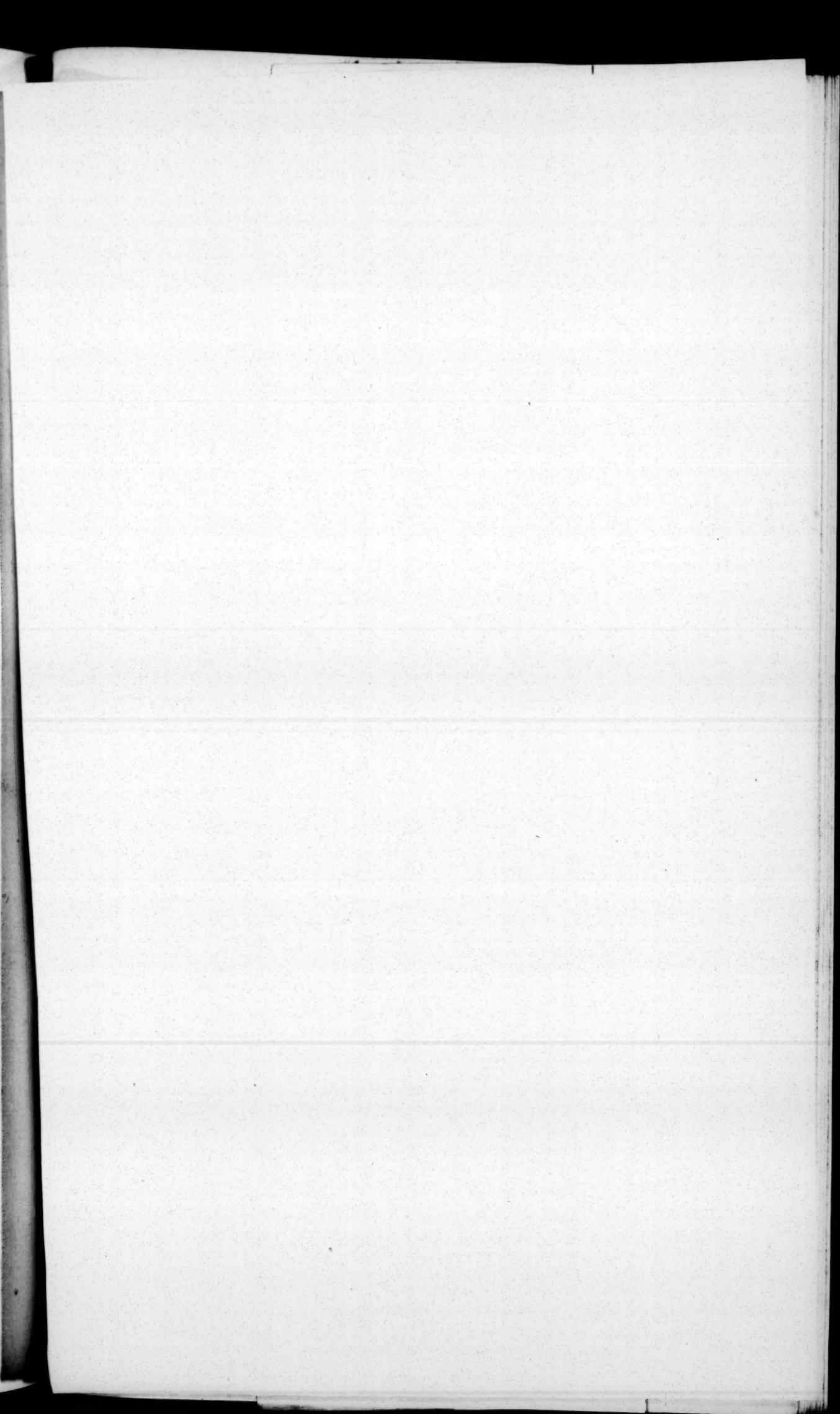
Although Philip was remarkable for his caution, yet in this instance he betrayed a want of it. The splendid success of his arms, in the rapid conquest of Portugal, had so dazzled his mind, that he thought it impossible for Elizabeth to withstand the powerful armament which he intended to send against her. These expectations were founded on the state of England, an open country, unprovided with any fortified towns, by which the progress of an enemy might be retarded. He concluded that one battle at sea, and another decisive one by land, would terminate the contest ; and as the fleet which he was preparing was greatly superior to any which Elizabeth could equip, so he could not suppose that her land forces, undisciplined and
unac-

unaccustomed to war, would be able to resist his veteran troops, which had been long enured to victory, and were commanded by the greatest general and the bravest officers in the world. He was not ignorant how much the other European powers had reason to be jealous of his design, but at that time they were either disinclined or incapable of opposing it. The emperor of Germany was his friend and ally. The attention of the northern potentates was wholly engrossed with the internal administration of their own dominions; and the French monarch, who was more deeply interested than any other in opposing him, could with difficulty support himself upon the throne against his rebellious subjects. But there was nothing which contributed more to confirm him in his purpose, than the approbation which it received from the pope. It has been asserted of Sixtus V. the then pontiff, that he entertained a very high admiration of the character of Elizabeth: but however that may be, yet he considered her as the most formidable enemy that the church had ever seen upon a throne. She had not indeed on any occasion, treated her catholic subjects with that inhuman cruelty, of which Philip had set her an example, in his treatment of the protestants; but she had shewn herself zealously disposed to farther the reformation in every country in Europe where her power and influence extended. For almost thirty years she had been the chief support of the protestants in Germany, the Netherlands, and France. By her means the popish faith was almost without adherents in Scotland, as well as in her own dominions. Add to which that the recent execution of Mary queen of Scots, had excited in the violent mind of his holiness the utmost rage and indignation. With these passions his interest concurred, and the hope

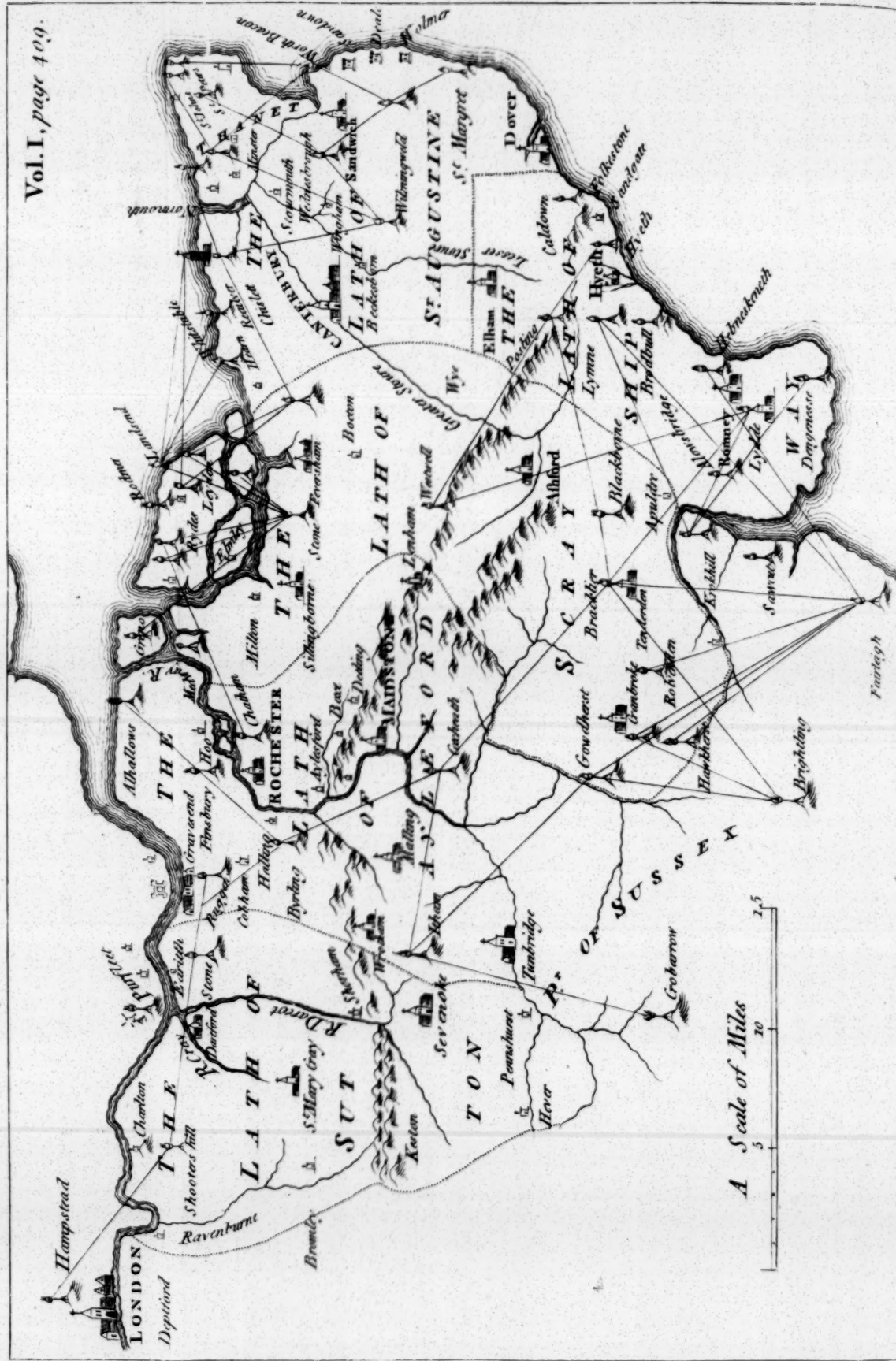
hope of seeing England, which had formerly been the most precious jewel of the triple crown, brought back to the holy see, led him highly to approve of Philip's intended enterprize. Next to an insatiable thirst after dominion, it had ever been that king's supreme wish to be considered as the guardian of the church; and his vanity was not a little flattered at this time, with having the sovereign pontiff for his associate*. He proceeded therefore with much alacrity in completing his preparations. But though he resolved to spare no expence or pains to secure success, yet, to cause as little alarm as possible to Elizabeth, he carefully concealed the purpose for which this armament was intended, and gave out that a part of his fleet was designed to co-operate with his land forces in the reduction of Holland, and the remainder was to be employed in the defence of his American dominions. Elizabeth had too much penetration, and her ministers were too vigilant, to be thus imposed on by the pretences of a prince, with whose duplicity they were so thoroughly acquainted. Accordingly we have seen Sir Francis Drake sent out with a fleet to the coast of Spain to interrupt these preparations. Notwithstanding which act of hostility, Philip still affected to desire that all the grounds of difference between him and the English court might be removed, and gave orders to the duke of Parma to propose a negotiation for peace. The queen, though no ways deceived hereby, pretended to believe the declaration of the Spanish minister, with regard to the destination of the fleet, and seemed to listen to the proposal of adjusting all differences. She readily accepted the mediation of the king of Denmark; and that her conduct might have the greater

* Bentivoglio, part II. lib. IV. Watson's Life of Philip II. Vol. II. p. 252.

appear-

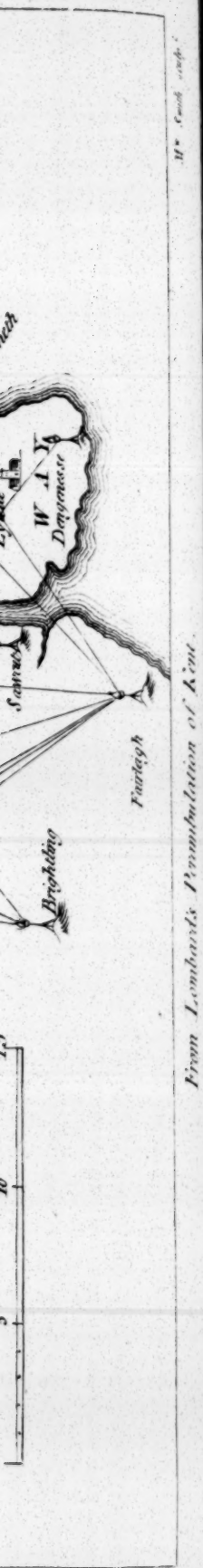


*1. MAP of the BEACONS in KENT, as they were appointed by the
L^d Lieu^t of the County, in the Year 1588, when the descent of the Spaniards was expected.*



appearance of sincerity, she urged the United States to send ambassadors to Bourbourg, in Flanders, the place appointed for the conferences. The Dutch were much alarmed at this pacific appearance, and dreaded, lest in order to avert the storm which hung over England, Elizabeth had resolved to abandon the confederacy, and to deliver up to Philip the Dutch towns in her possession. To remove these apprehensions, the queen assured the States, that so far from forsaking them, she never would consent to any terms of peace, which were inconsistent with their security. The Dutch, however, declined sending any plenipotentiaries to the congress. Many terms of accommodation were proposed in the conferences which were held; during which the Spanish ministers continued to assure those of England, that no invasion of that kingdom was intended.

In the mean time the most vigorous efforts were made, to put the nation in a posture of defence. An army was raised, amounting to eighty thousand men; twenty thousand of whom were stationed on the south coasts of the island; twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were encamped at Tilbury, in Essex: the command of which was entrusted to the earl of Leicester; whilst a large body of troops, under lord Hunsdon, were kept near the queen's person, in readiness to march against the enemy, wherever they should attempt to land. All the sea-ports which lay most exposed to the attacks of the Spaniards, were fortified; the militia was embodied, provided with arms, and trained to the use of them. Beacons were erected at proper distances, to give an immediate alarm all over the kingdom, as soon as an enemy attempted to land: and every means, for the public safety, was used, which prudence and foresight could suggest.



Whilst the whole nation was thus uniting to repel the threatened attack on land, the like assiduity was used in the equipment of a fleet. The whole amount of the royal navy, before these preparations began, was no more than thirty ships, and none of these were nearly equal in size to those of the enemy. But this seeming disadvantage, was amply compensated by the skill and dexterity of the English sailors; and the number of ships were soon augmented, through the alacrity and zeal which the queen's subjects shewed in her defence. By her wise administration, she had acquired their esteem and confidence: the animosity against her person and government, which the differences in religion had excited in the minds of some, was, at present, swallowed up in that universal abhorrence which the catholics, as well as the protestants, entertained of the tyranny of Spain. Great pains were taken to keep alive, and cherish that abhorrence. Accounts were spread of the horrid barbarities which the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands, and in America: descriptions were drawn in the blackest colours, of the inhuman cruelties of the inquisition; and pictures were dispersed of the various instruments of torture employed by the inquisitors, of which, it was said, there was abundant store on board the Spanish fleet. These representations made a strong impression, not only on the protestants, but likewise on the catholics; who, although the pope had published a bull of excommunication against the queen, yet resolved not to come short of the protestants, either in loyalty to their sovereign, or in zeal for the independence of the state. The whole kingdom was of one mind and spirit: some catholics entered into the army as volunteers, and others joined with the protestants in equipping armed vessels. Every maritime town fitted out one or more. The citizens
of



HOWARD Earl of NOTTINGHAM,
Lord High Admiral.
Died 1621, Aged 88 Years.

of London furnished thirty, although only fifteen were required of them; and between forty and fifty were equipped by the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom. The queen herself maintained a firm and intrepid spirit in the midst of the impending danger, which inspired all ranks of her subjects with resolution and fortitude.

At the same time, the states of Holland were equally active, considering their danger as imminent, as if Philip had intended to begin his operations with an attack upon the Netherlands. From their fears of an immediate attack, they were delivered by accounts of the enormous size of the Spanish ships, to which the coasts of Holland and Zeeland were inaccessible. They turned their principal attention, therefore, to the assistance of their ally; and kept their fleet, consisting of more than eighty ships, ready for action. At the desire of queen Elizabeth, they sent thirty of that number to cruise between Calais and Dover; and afterwards, when the duke of Parma's design of transporting his army to England was certainly known, they ordered Justin de Nassau, admiral of Zeeland, to join lord Seymour, one of the English admirals, with thirty-five ships, to block up those sea-ports in Flanders, where the duke intended to embark*.

The grand fleet of England was stationed at Plymouth, the chief command of which was given to Charles lord Howard, of Effingham, lord high admiral, who had under him, as vice-admiral, Sir Francis Drake; and for his rear admiral, Sir John Hawkins. The whole fleet was manned, and commanded by the most expert and brave seamen in the world.

* Meteren, lib. XV.

In the beginning of May 1588, Philip's preparations, which had kept all Europe in amazement and suspense, were brought to a conclusion. That armada, which, in the confidence of success, the Spaniards had stiled invincible, consisted of one hundred and fifty ships, most of which were greatly superior, in strength and size, to any that had been seen before. It had on board, besides galley-slaves that worked at the oar, upwards of twenty thousand soldiers, and eight thousand sailors, besides two thousand volunteers, descended from the most considerable families in Spain. It carried two thousand six hundred and fifty great guns; was victualled for half a year; and contained such a quantity of military stores, as only the Spanish monarch, enriched as he was, by the treasures of both the Indies, could supply.

The preparations in the Netherlands, under the prince of Parma, were not less advanced than those of Spain. He had assembled a well-provided army of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, in the vicinity of Nieuport and Dunkirk; and had provided a great number of flat-bottomed vessels, fit for transporting both horse and foot; and had brought sailors to navigate them, from the towns on the coast of the Baltic. Most of these vessels had been built at Antwerp: and as he durst not venture to bring them from thence, by sea, to Nieuport, lest they should have been intercepted by the Dutch; he was obliged to send them along the Sheld to Ghent; from thence to Bruges, by the canal which joins those towns; and from Bruges to Nieuport, by a new canal, which he caused to be dug for the purpose. This laborious undertaking, in which several thousand workmen had been employed, was already finished, and the duke now waited for the arrival of the Spanish fleet; hoping,
that

that as soon as it should approach, the Dutch and English ships that cruised upon the coast, would retire into their harbours.

The command of the armada was originally designed to have been entrusted to the marquis de Santa Cruz, a nobleman of tried valour and skill, who had acquired great honour in the famous battle of Lepanto, and was considered as the first naval officer in Spain; but at the very time fixed for the departure of the fleet, he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died in a few days; and, by a singular fatality, the duke de Paliano, the second in command, died likewise at the same time. The duke of Medina Sidonia, don Alphonso de Gusman, was hereupon appointed to the chief command, a nobleman of considerable merit, but entirely unacquainted with maritime affairs; under whom, for vice-admiral, was don Martinez de Ricalde, an old Biscayan, and a seaman of great experience, who was entrusted with the conducting of the expedition, and by whose advice the admiral was entirely governed.

By these new arrangements so much time was lost, that the fleet could not leave Lisbon till the 29th of May. It had not advanced far in its way to Corunna, or the Groyne, where it was directed to proceed for some additional troops and stores, before it was overtaken by a violent storm, and dispersed. All the fleet, except four ships, reached that harbour. In three of the missing ships, the galley-slaves, consisting of English, French, and Turks, taking advantage of the confusion occasioned by the storm, overpowered the Spaniards, and carried their ships into a harbour on the coast of Bayonne*.

Meanwhile the utmost diligence was used in repairing the damage which the fleet had sustained by

* Meteren, p. 476.

the storm, notwithstanding, several weeks elapsed before it was in a condition to put to sea again.

This delay caused a report to be brought to England, that the armada had suffered so much by the storm, as to be rendered incapable of proceeding on the intended enterprize; and so well attested was this intelligence, that Elizabeth directed her secretary, Walsingham, to write to lord Effingham, directing him to lay up four of his largest ships, and to discharge the seamen. The admiral was, happily, less credulous on this occasion, than either the queen or her minister, and desired that he might be allowed to retain those ships in his service, even though it should be at his own expence, till more certain information was received. In order to procure it, he set sail with a brisk north wind for Corunna, intending, in case he should find the armada so much disabled as had been reported, to attempt to burn it in the harbour. When he arrived off the coast of Spain, he was informed of the real condition of the enemy: at the same time the wind having shifted from north to south, he began to dread, lest the Spaniards should have sailed for England, and therefore proceeded, with all speed, to his former station at Plymouth.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed that the armada was in sight. He immediately weighed anchor, and sailed out of the harbour, but not without great difficulty, as the wind blew hard into Plymouth Sound*. Still he was uncertain of the course which the enemy intended to pursue. On the next day, being the 20th of July, he saw the Spanish navy drawn up in the form of a crescent, sailing slowly through the channel, and extending seven miles, from one extremity to the other. The

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 172.

English admiral suffered them to pass by quietly; that having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear, which he performed with equal courage and success.

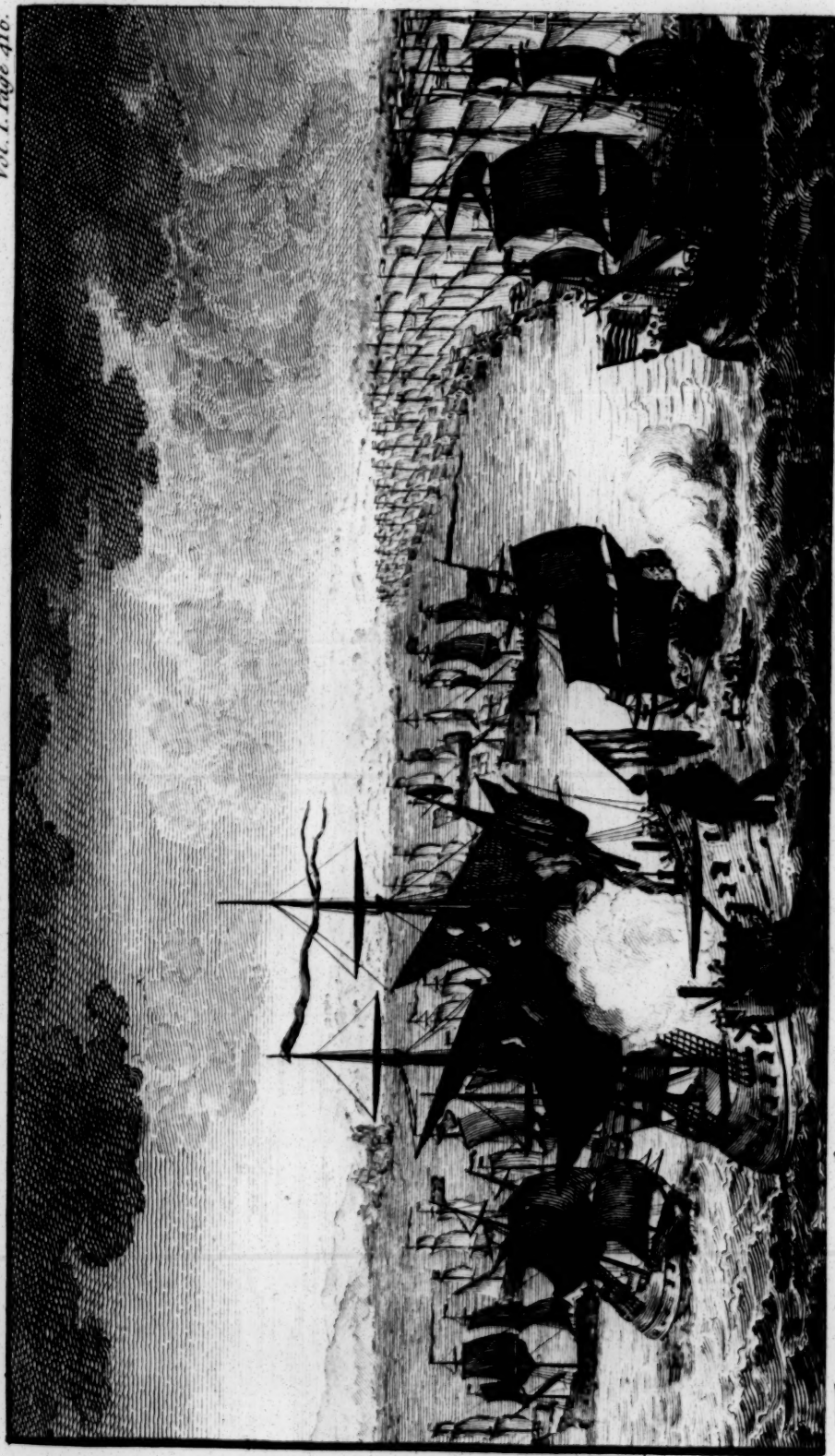
It was the opinion of many persons in that age, that the most prudent conduct for Spain to have pursued, would have been to have landed at Plymouth, instead of proceeding up the channel. By this measure it was supposed, that the whole force of the nation would have been drawn towards the south-west coast, which would have rendered it easier for the duke of Parma to have transported his troops to the opposite shore of Dunkirk and Nieuport. But it is probable, that Spain would have availed itself little of this step, although England would have suffered, for a while, very severely, by the inroad of such a force, notwithstanding it was able, with only a part, of its strength to make head against it. Nor would the prince of Parma have had it in his power to have made a descent from his quarter, as the Dutch fleet alone was able to block up the sea-ports of Flanders. But if the duke of Medina ever intended to make a descent at Plymouth, he soon changed his design, and adhered closely afterwards to the execution of the plan prescribed to him by the court of Spain; which was, to steer quite through the channel, till he should reach the coast of Flanders; and after driving away the Dutch and English ships, by which the harbours of Nieuport and Dunkirk were blocked up, to take on board the prince of Parma's army, sail up the Thames, and make the first attack on the city of London.

The English admiral soon had an opportunity of attacking don Martinez de Ricalde, the Spanish vice-admiral. This he did in person; and displayed so much dexterity in working his ship, and
in

in loading and firing his guns, as greatly alarmed the Spanish fleet, for the fate of their commander. He, however, escaped, but sustained much damage; and more would have been done, but that a great part of the English fleet lay at too great a distance; so that the admiral was forced to wait for them. From that time the Spaniards kept much closer to one another; notwithstanding which, the English, on the same day, attacked one of their largest galleasses. Other Spanish ships came up, in time, to her relief; but in the confusion hereby occasioned, one of the principal galleons, which had a great part of the treasure on board, ran foul of another ship, by which she sprung her foremast; being thus disabled, and the following night proving very dark, she fell into the hands of Sir Francis Drake, who sent her captain, don Pedro de Valdez, to Dartmouth; and left the money on board, amounting to fifty thousand ducats, to be plundered by his men*.

The next day was spent by the Spanish admiral in disposing his fleet, giving orders to his officers, and despatching an advice-boat to hasten the prince of Parma, by giving him an account of the danger to which the fleet was exposed. On the 23d, other rencounters happened; in all of which the English derived great advantage, from the lightness of their ships, and the dexterity of the sailors. The Spaniards, in that age, did not sufficiently understand nautical mechanics, to be able to avail themselves of the unusual magnitude of their ships. The English sailed round them, approached or retired, with a velocity that filled them with amazement, and did infinitely greater execution with their cannon; for while every shot of theirs took place, their

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.



The Attack of the Spanish Armada, off the Start Point near Plymouth.

ships received very little damage from the enemy, whose guns were planted too high, and generally spent their force in air.

On the 24th the English were able to do very little for want of ammunition; but a supply arriving in the evening, the admiral made the necessary dispositions for attacking the Spaniards in the dead of the night, dividing his fleet into four squadrons; the first commanded by himself in person; the second by Sir Francis Drake; the third by admiral Hawkins: and the fourth by captain Martin Frobisher; but a dead calm prevented the execution of this design. On the 25th one of the Spanish ships was taken; after which the admiral resolved to make no farther attempts upon them, till they should enter the straits of Dover, where he knew lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Winter, waited for them with a fresh squadron. He likewise took this opportunity of knighting lord Thomas Howard, lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, admiral Hawkins, and captain Frobisher, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement*.

Notwithstanding the prosperous issue of these skirmishes, yet, in the onset, the admiral ran the utmost hazard of being taken by the enemy: for Sir Francis Drake being appointed, the first night of the engagement, to carry lights for the direction of the English fleet, being in full pursuit of some hulks belonging to the Hanse-Towns, he neglected it; which occasioned the admiral to follow the Spanish lights, by which he remained almost in the centre of their fleet till morning. However, Drake's succeeding services sufficiently effaced the memory of this mistake, especially as the prudence and conduct of lord Effingham, enabled

* Hakluyt, Vol. I. Sir William Monson. Camden's Life of Queen Elizabeth.

him, when he discovered his situation in the midst of the Spanish fleet, to retire, without sustaining any loss†.

The armada continued to advance till it came opposite to Calais, where, having cast anchor on the 17th of July, the duke of Medina acquainted the general of his arrival, and entreated him to hasten the embarkation of his forces. Farnese, whilst he prepared to put his troops on board, informed the Spanish admiral, that the vessels which had been constructed, agreeable to the king's instructions, were only fit for transporting the troops, being incapable of making any resistance if attacked; therefore, till the Spanish ships of force could approach so near the ports as to cover the embarkation, and drive away the Dutch ships, which had blocked up the harbours of Dunkirk and Newport, he could make no advances, without exposing his army to certain ruin, the consequence of which would probably be, the entire loss of the Netherlands.

Hereupon the Spanish fleet was ordered to draw nearer in shore; and was advancing within sight of Dunkirk, with the English fleet on one side, and the Dutch fleet on the other, when a sudden calm fell, which prevented its farther progress. In this situation the three fleets remained for a whole day. On the 7th of August, in the night, a breeze sprung up, and lord Howard resolved to practice an expedient long before thought of, in case the enemy should have come up the Thames: he, therefore, filled eight large barks with pitch and sulphur, and other combustible materials; and sent them under the command of the captains Young and Prowse, about midnight, into

† Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 602.

the thickest part of the enemy's fleet, right before the wind, where they presently began to blaze. The darkness of the night increased the terror with which the Spaniards were filled, when they saw these ships in flames approaching towards them. The panic instantly spread over the whole fleet. Each, anxious only for his own preservation, thought of nothing but how to escape from the present danger: some of the ships took time to weigh their anchors, but others cut their cables, and drove, with wild precipitation, wherever the wind and the sea carried them. In this confusion the ships ran foul of one another, and several of them received so much damage, as to be rendered unfit for future service. When day-light returned, the English admiral had the satisfaction to view the success of his scheme; the enemy were still in extreme disorder, and their ships widely separated and dispersed, whilst the English fleet had received a great augmentation of ships, fitted out by the nobility and gentry, as well as by those under lord Seymour, who had left Justin de Nassau, the Dutch admiral, he alone being able to guard the coast of Flanders. Lord Howard finding himself bravely seconded by Sir Francis Drake, and all the other officers, made haste to improve the advantage which was now presented to him, and attacked the enemy, in different quarters at the same time, with the utmost impetuosity. The engagement began at four in the morning, and lasted till six at night. The Spaniards displayed, in every rencounter, the most intrepid bravery; but from the causes already mentioned, did very little execution against the English, whilst many of their own ships were greatly damaged; and ten of the largest were either run aground, sunk, or compelled to strike. The prin-

cipal galleas, having on board Mauriquez, the inspector-general, with three hundred gally-slaves, and four hundred soldiers, was driven ashore, on the sands of Calais; where she was attacked by some English pinnaces, who were supported by the admiral's long-boat, on board of which were some picked soldiers. Moncada, who commanded, was slain; and almost all the Spaniards either fell in the conflict, or were drowned in attempting to reach the shore. The rowers were set at liberty: about fifty thousand ducats were found on board. Mauriquez escaped, and was the first who carried to Spain the news of the disaster which had befallen the fleet.

One of the capital ships, after a long engagement with an English ship of force, at length sunk, and only some few of the crew were saved. These related, that one of the officers on board, having proposed to surrender the ship, another officer enraged at the proposal, killed him on the spot; whilst he himself was immediately killed by a brother of the first. In the midst of this bloody scene, which paints the ferocious character of the Spaniards, the ship sunk*. The fate of two other of the Spanish galleons is particularly mentioned by contemporary writers. One of them was called the St. Philip, and the other the St. Matthew: they had on board, besides several other nobility, two general officers; don Francis Toledo, of the family of Orgas, and don Diego Pimentel, brother to the marquis of Tomnarez. After an obstinate engagement, in which the admiral's ship fought along with them, they were obliged to run ashore on the coast of Flanders, where they were taken by the Dutch. Toledo was drowned; Pimentel, with all the rest who survived, were made prisoners.

* Grotius's Annals. Meteren.

Medina Sidonia was much dejected at these misfortunes, and still more, when he reflected on the superior skill of the enemy: for it is well attested, that in all the engagements that had passed since the first appearance of the armada in the channel, the English had lost only one small ship, and about a hundred men. Inspired by such signal success, with sanguine hopes of final victory, they were now become more formidable than ever. The admiral of Spain, dreaded the total destruction of his fleet from a continuance of the combat: he could not, without the greatest danger, remain any longer in that situation; and much less could he venture to approach any nearer to the coast of Flanders.

It now appeared, how great an error Philip had committed, in neglecting to secure some commodious harbours in Zeeland. He had concluded, that the enemy's ships would retreat into their ports, on the first approach of his stupendous armada; which, in fact, he had rendered incapable of performing the service for which it was designed, by means of that enormous expence which he bestowed, in order to render it invincible. In constructing it, no attention had been paid to the nature of those narrow seas, in which it was to be employed; and the consequence of this capital error was, that even if the English fleet had been unable to contend with the Spanish, in the deeper parts of the channel, yet it would have prevented the Spaniards from landing; and the Dutch fleet lying in shallow water, to which the galleons durst not approach, would still have kept their station, and have rendered it impossible for the Spanish fleet, and army, to act in concert*.

The duke de Medina took this opportunity of calling a council of war, wherein it was resolved,

* Watson's Life of Philip II. Vol. II. p. 266.

that

that as there were no hopes left of succeeding, it was the most prudent conduct to direct all their attention to the saving of the fleet†. To return through the channel was not, at that time, practicable, as a strong wind blew from the north-west; neither was it adviseable to wait for its shifting, in order to steer that course, as they would be continually harrassed by the enemy. They, therefore, determined to make all the sail they could for their own coast, going north about, taking the circuit of the British Isles. The English admiral, very prudently, sent lord Henry Seymour, with a strong squadron, to cruise on the coast of Zeeland, and thereby to prevent the Spanish fleet forming a junction with the prince of Parma; whilst he himself, with the chief of his fleet, hovered about that of Spain. Thus he kept close in their rear without attacking them: had not his ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the offices in supplying the ships, he had obliged the whole armada to surrender at discretion; for so great was the distress of the Spanish fleet, and such their admiral's dread of the long and perilous voyage before him, that it is asserted by Grotius, he would have surrendered without resistance, in case he had been attacked. But he was rescued from the disgrace which such an act would have entailed upon his name, by the English admiral being compelled to return home, to supply the deficiency of his stores.

When the fugitives arrived off the Scottish coast, and found that care was every where taken that they should meet with no supplies, they threw their horses and mules overboard; and such of them as had a proper store of water, bore away directly

† Camden's Life of Elizabeth.

for the Bay of Biscay, with the Duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ships: the rest, about forty sail, under the command of the vice admiral, stood for the coast of Ireland, intending to have watered at Cape Clare. On the 2d of September, however, a tempest arose, and drove most of them ashore; so that upwards of thirty ships, and many thousand men, perished. Some likewise were forced, a second time, into the English channel, where they were taken; some by the English, and others by the Rochellers. Several very large vessels were lost among the western isles, and along the coast of Argyleshire. Out of these, about five hundred persons were saved, who came into Edinburgh almost naked: their distresses excited the compassion of the citizens, who relieved and cloathed them; and by their assistance, a vessel was procured to convey them to Spain. But their misfortunes were not to end here; for in their passage home they were driven on the coast of Norfolk, and compelled to put into Yarmouth, where they were detained, whilst an express was sent to the queen, and council, for direction how they were to be treated. The government taking into consideration the miseries they had already endured, and not being willing to appear less compassionate than the Scots, gave orders that they should be suffered to proceed on their voyage*.

Thus, in the short space of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been three years preparing, was miserably and disgracefully destroyed. Medina Sidonia being reduced to the mortifying necessity of passing those seas as a fugitive, which he had before assured himself he should ride on as a conqueror. Thus, not only England, Scot-

* Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 226.

land, and Ireland, together with the new republic of the United Netherlands, were preserved from impending ruin; but the general liberties of Europe, as well as the protestant religion, were permanently established. At this time the monarchy of Spain was the most potent power in christendom; but the bigotted and narrow views of its kings, and their ministers, and the growing power of England and Holland, and soon afterwards of France, when it began to breathe from the civil wars with which it had long been convulsed, all contributed to reduce its consequence that kingdom, soon after, gave strong symptoms of its declension, which has been gradually advancing ever since, till at length imbecility has become constitutional.

Of one hundred and thirty ships which sailed out of the harbour of Corunna, no more than fifty-three or fifty-four, returned; and near twenty-thousand persons perished in the expedition*.

The calamities of the Spaniards did not end on the return of their shattered fleet. Two of the galleons, which had withstood the fury of the tempestuous ocean, and the attacks of the enemy, were accidentally set on fire, and burnt to the water-edge, as they lay at anchor in the harbour. Great numbers of the nobility and gentry, accustomed to ease and indulgence, died at sea; and others contracted diseases, by the hardships and fatigues they underwent, of which they afterwards died: there was scarce a family of rank in the kingdom, that did not put on mourning for some relation lost; insomuch, that Philip, dreading the consequences which might arise from the general face of sorrow, imitated the conduct of the Roman senate, and

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 404.

published an edict to abridge the time of mourning*.

The king of Spain, who was a slave to his ambition, but had an entire command over his countenance and demeanour, was no sooner informed of this disastrous event, which, at once, blasted all his hopes, than he fell on his knees, and rendering thanks for that gracious dispensation of Providence, expressed his joy that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests, who had so often blessed this holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, were somewhat at a loss to account for a victory gained over the catholic monarch, by excommunicated heretics, and an execrable usurper: but they, at last, discovered, that all the calamities of the Spaniards had proceeded from their allowing the infidel Moors to live among them†.

While the people of Spain were thus overwhelmed with affliction, nothing was to be heard in England, and the United Provinces, but the voice of festivity and joy. In both countries medals were struck, in commemoration of the happy event; and days of solemn thanksgiving to heaven were appointed for their deliverance. Elizabeth went, for this purpose, to St. Paul's cathedral, seated in a triumphal chariot, and surrounded by her ministers and nobles, amidst a great number of flags and trophies, which had been taken from the enemy; whilst the citizens were ranged in arms on each side of the streets through which she passed.

Grotius passes a fine encomium on the English, for their bravery and conduct, in opposing this formidable armament of Spain. "The glory of Greece and Rome," says he, "which states anci-

* Grotii Hist. lib. I. Meteren, lib. XIV.
England, Vol. V. p. 345.

† Hume's Hist. of

ently effected some of their greatest exploits by naval victories, was, in these times, undoubtedly equalled, by the fortune and valour of the English; although their conquests were more slowly, as well as more safely obtained over Spain.”†

After all, though nothing could surpass the bravery of the English; and their maritime skill was equally displayed with their valour, yet the unpardonable neglect of furnishing the fleet with a supply of ammunition, was very near rendering the triumph incomplete; and it was, at last, the war of elements that effectually crushed the power of Spain.—And here let us reflect a little on an enterprise, which had filled all Europe with anxiety or expectation. The Spanish troops were, at that time, the best soldiers in the world, having been formed, by a long series of actual service, being commanded by brave and experienced officers, and having, at their head, Farnese, prince of Parma, a most renowned commander. The English, on the contrary, had enjoyed a profound peace for upwards of thirty years; during which time, they must be supposed to have relaxed something of their martial spirit, and to have greatly declined in their military skill: at their head too was the earl of Leicester, a nobleman every way disqualified to be opposed to Farnese. Thus far it must be owned, that circumstances were unfavourable. If the whole land-force of Spain, destined for this invasion, had been united, it would have amounted to something short of fifty thousand men; and this army was designed to reduce the whole kingdom to slavery: a kingdom governed by a sovereign universally beloved, and who was assisted by ministers eminently distinguished for capacity and vigilance. The tyranny of the Spanish government was so execrated, that the dread

† Grotius' *Annals of the Netherlands*, book V.

of being brought under it, had united those of the most opposite sentiments and interests; the natural prowess and force of the English, had, in every age, given them an ascendancy over the best troops of any country, and even when contending with superior numbers; but at this time eighty thousand men were actually embodied, armed, and trained to action; every individual of whom may be supposed to have felt the importance of the cause in which he was embarked, no other choice being left but of conquest, death, or slavery. If, therefore, the total disregard shown by Philip to the conciliating the affections of any one sect, or party, in the kingdom, as well as the natural warlike spirit of the people, are considered, his projected conquest of England will be thought upon the whole as desperate an expedition as was ever set on foot. When William I. invaded this country, he was at the head of a larger army, had some adherents, held forth to the body of the people assurances of liberty, and personal security; besides, that the country was then much less populous; and yet, nothing but the wonderful success which crowned his arms, exempted him from the imputation of rashness and folly. Had the duke of Parma, and his Spaniards, got a footing in England, they might indeed have ravaged, and laid waste, a considerable part of the kingdom; but that he would, in the end, have been driven out of it, may surely be concluded with as much certainty, as any future and contingent event admits of. Nothing, however, could be more beneficial to England, than the universal alarm which the apprehension of this invasion spread, as thereby the spirit of the nation was roused to such exertions, as never would have been made on any occasion less stimulating. England, by that means, felt herself to possess a degree of strength, and such internal resources, far

exceeded her supposed powers. And this fact, once ascertained, drew forth all the latent springs of action into great and beneficial undertakings.

Two days after the dispersion of the Spanish armada, the earl of Leicester died; the great, but unworthy favourite of Elizabeth, whose affection continued to the last. He had discovered no conduct in any of his military enterprizes, and was suspected of cowardice. Not content with entrusting to him the command in chief of her troops, during the danger of the Spanish invasion, she had ordered a commission to be drawn for him, constituting him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland; but Burleigh and Hatton represented to her the danger of entrusting such unlimited authority in the hands of any subject, and thereby prevented its taking place. No wonder that a conduct so unlike the usual jealousy of Elizabeth, gave reason to suspect that her partiality was founded on some other passion than friendship. But the queen seemed to carry her affection to Leicester, no farther than the grave; for she ordered his goods to be disposed of by a public sale, in order to reimburse herself of some debts which he owed her; thereby shewing, that her attention to money prevailed over her regard to the memory of the deceased*.

The titles and places which this favourite enjoyed were these: knight of the orders of the Garter and St. Michael; privy counsellor; master of the horse; steward of the queen's household; constable of Windsor-castle; chancellor of the university of Oxford; justice in eyre of all the forests south of Trent; lieutenant, and captain-general of the forces in the Netherlands†.

* Hume's History of England, Vol. V. p. 527.
Baronetage, Vol. II. p. 221.

† Dugdale's

In order to assist the reader with a more just idea of the glory acquired by the English on this occasion, we shall subjoin lists of the English and Spanish fleets, with the names of the commanders of each ship.

A List of the English Fleet, with the Names of the Ships, and Captains, serving under Charles Lord Howard, of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, against the Spaniards, A. D. 1588. Taken from the Royal Library.

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
1	The Ark, Raleigh	800	The lord Charles Howard, lord high-admiral	425
2	Elizabeth Bonaventure	600	The earl of Cumberland	250
3	Rainbow	500	The lord Henry Seymour	250
4	Golden Lion	500	The lord Thomas Howard	250
5	White Bear	1000	The lord Edmund Sheffield	500
6	Van-guard	500	Sir William Winter	250
7	Revenge	500	Sir Francis Drake, vice admiral	250
8	Elizabeth-Jonas	500	Sir Robert Southwell	500
9	Victory	800	Sir John Hawkins, rear-admiral	400
10	Antelope	400	Sir Henry Palmer	160
11	Triumph	1100	Sir Martin Frobisher	500
12	Dreadnought	400	Sir George Beston	200
13	Mary-Rose	600	Edward Fenton	250
14	Nonpareil	500	Thomas Fenner	250
15	Hope	600	Robert Crofs	250
16	Gally Bonavolia		William Boroughs	250
17	Swift			

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
17	Swift-fure	400	Edward Fennar	200
18	Swallow	360	Richard Hawkins	160
19	Forefight	300	Christopher Baker	160
20	Aid	250	William Fennar	120
21	Bull	200	Jeremy Turner	100
22	Tyger	200	John Bostock	100
23	Framontana	150	Luke Ward	70
24	Scout	120	Henry Ashley	73
25	Achates	100	Henry Rigges	60
26	Charles	70	John Roberts	40
27	Moon	600	Alexander Clifford	40
28	Advice	50	John Harris	40
29	Spy	50	Ambrose Ward	40
30	Martin	50	Walter Gower	35
31	Sun	40	Richard Buckley	30
32	Signet	30	John Shrive	20
33	Brigantine	—	Thomas Scot	35
34	George, Hoy	120	Richard Hodges	24
				6279
				11850

Ten

Ten Ships serving by Tonnage, with the Lord Admiral.

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mainters.
35	White Lion	140	Charles Howard	50
36	Difdain	80	Jonas Bradbery	45
37	Lark	50	Thomas Chichester	30
38	Edward Malden	180	William Pierce	30
39	Marygold	30	William Newton	20
40	Black Dog	20	John Davis	10
41	Catharine	20	—	10
42	Fancy	50	John Paul	20
43	Peppin	20	—	8
44	Nightingale	160	John Doate	16
		—		—
		750		239

Thirty-two Ships serving with Sir Francis Drake.

45	Galleon Leicefter	400	George Fenner	160
46	Merchant Royal	400	Robert Flyke	160
47	Edward Bonaventure	300	James Lancafter	120
48	Roebuck	300	Jacob Whitton	120
49	Golden Noble	250	Adam Seigar	110
50	Griffin			

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
50	Griffin	200	William Hawkins	100
51	Minion	200	William Winter	80
52	Bark Talbot	200	Henry White	90
53	Thomas Drake	200	Henry Spendelow	80
54	Spark	200	William Sparke	90
55	Hopewell	200	John Marchaunt	100
56	Galleon Dudley	250	James Erizey	100
57	Virgin, God save her	200	John Greenfield	80
58	Hope of Plymouth	200	John Rivers	70
59	Bark, Bond	150	William Poole	70
60	Bark, Bonner	150	Charles Caesar	70
61	Bark, Hawkins	150	----- Pridexe	70
62	Unity	80	Humphry Sidnam	70
63	Elizabeth-Drake	60	Thomas Seely	30
64	Bark, Buggins	80	John Langford	50
65	Frigate, Elizabeth Fonnes	80	Roger Grant	50
66	Bark, Sellinger	160	John Sellinger	80
67	Bark, Mannington	160	Ambrose Manington	80
68	Golden Hind	50	Thomas Flemming	30
69	Make shift	60	Peerce Leman	40
70	Diamond			

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
70	Diamond of Dartmouth	60	Robert Holland	40
71	Speedwell	60	Hugh Harding	14
72	Bear-young	140	John Young	70
73	Chance	60	James Foues	40
74	Delight	30	William Cox	30
75	Nightingale	40	John Griffling	30
76	Carvel	30	—	24
		—		—
		5120		2348

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Thirty-eight London Ships fitted out by the City.

77	Hercules	—	George Barnes	120
78	Toby	—	Robert Barret	100
79	May-Flower	—	Edward Banks	90
80	Minion	—	John Dales	90
81	Royal Defence	—	John Chefter	80
82	Ascension	—	John Bacon	100
83	Gift of God	—	Thomas Luntlove	80
84	Primrose	—	Robert Bringboorn	90
85	Margaret and John	—	John Fisher	90
86	Golden	—		

No.	Ship.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
86	Golden Lion	140	Robert Wilcox	70
87	Diana	80		
88	Bark, Burie	160	John Saracole	70
89	Teigur	200	William Cæsar	90
90	Berlabé	160	William Furthoe	70
91	Red Lion	200	Jarvis Wild	90
92	Centurion	250	Samuel Foxcraft	100
93	Passport	80	Christopher Colthirst	40
94	Moonshine	60	John Krough	30
95	Thomas Bonaventure	140	William Adridge	70
96	Relief	60	John King	30
97	Sufan Anne Parnel	220	Nicholas Gorge	80
98	Violet	220	Martin Hakes	60
99	Solomon	170	Edmund Musgrave	80
100	Anne Francis	180	Christopher Lifter	70
101	George Bonaventure	200	Eleazar Hikeman	80
102	Jane Bonaventure	100	Thomas Hallwood	50
103	Vinyard	160	Benjamin Cook	60
104	Samuel	140	John Vassel	50
105	George Noble	150	Henry Bellinger	80
106				

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
106	Anthony	110	George Harper	60
107	Toby	140	Christopher Pigott	70
108	Salamander	120	— Samford	60
109	Rose Lion	110	Barnaby Acton	50
110	Antelope	120	— Dennison	60
111	Jewel	120	— Rowel	60
112	Paunce	160	William Butler	70
113	Providence	130	Richard Chester	60
114	Dolphin	160	William Hares	70
		—		—
		6130		2710

Twenty Coasters with the Lord Admiral.

115	Bark, Web	80	—	50
116	John Trelawny	150	Thomas Meeke	70
117	Hart of Dartmouth	60	James Houghton	30
118	Bark, Potts	180	Anthony Potts	80
119	Little John	40	Laurence Cleyton	20
120	Bartholomew of Apsam	130	Nicholas Wright	70
121	Rose of Apsam	110	Thomas Sanny	50

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
122	Gift of Apsam	25	—	20
123	Jacob of Lime	90	—	50
124	Revenge of Lime	60	Richard Bedford	30
125	William of Bridgewater	170	John Smith	30
126	Crescent of Dartmouth	140	—	75
127	Galleon of Weymouth	100	Richard Miller	50
128	Katherine of Weymouth	60	—	30
129	John of Chichester	70	John Young	50
130	Hearty Anne	60	John Winnoll	30
131	Minion of Bristol	230	John Satchfield	110
132	Unicorn of Bristol	130	James Laughton	66
133	Handmaid of Bristol	85	Christopher Pitt	56
134	Aid of Bristol	60	William Megar	26
		—		—
		1930		993

Twenty-three Coasters, with the Lord Henry Seymour.

135	Daniel	—	Robert Johnson	70
136	Galleon, Hutchins	160	—	60
137	Bark, Lamb	150	Thomas Tucker	60
		150	Leonard Harvel	—
138	Fanny	—	—	—

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
138	Fancy	60	Richard Fearn	30
139	Griffin	75	John Dobson	35
140	Little Hare	50	Matthew Ralston	25
141	Handmaid	75	John Gatenbury	35
142	Marygold	150	Francis Johnson	70
143	Matthew	35	Richard Mitchel	16
144	Susan	40	John Musgrave	20
145	William of Ipswich	140	Barnaby Lowe	30
146	Katherine of Ipswich	125	Thomas Grimble	50
147	Primrose of Harwich	120	John Cardinal	40
148	Anne Bonaventure	60	John Conny	50
149	William of Rye	80	William Coxon	60
150	Grace of God	50	William Fordred	30
151	Ellnathan of Dover	120	John Lidgier	70
152	Reuben of Sandwich	110	William Cripp	68
153	Hazard of Feverham	38	Nicholas Turner	34
154	Grace of Yarmouth	150	William Musgrave	70
155	May Flower	150	Alexander Musgrave	70
156	William of Brickellsea	100	Thomas Lambert	50
157	John Young	60	Reynold Veyzey	30
		2248		1073

Eighteen

Eighteen Volunteers with the Lord Admiral.

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Captains.	Mariners.
158	Samfon	300	John Wingfield	108
159	Francis of Foy	140	John Risbley	50
160	Heath Hen of Weymouth	60	—	30
161	Golden Real of Weymouth	120	—	60
162	Bark, Sutton of Weymouth	70	Hugh Preston	40
163	Carowfe	50	—	25
164	Samaritan of Dartmouth	250	—	100
165	William of Plymouth	120	—	60
166	Gallego of Plymouth	30	—	20
167	Bark Haulse	60	Greenfield Haulse	40
168	Unicorn of Dartmouth	76	Ralph Hawes	30
169	Grace of Apham	100	Walter Edney	50
170	Thomas Bonaventure	60	John Pentyre	30
171	Rat of Wight	80	Gilbert Lea	60
172	Margett	60	William Hubberd	46
173	Elizabeth of Laystaff	40	—	30
174	Raphael	40	—	30
175	Fly-boat Young	60	Nicholas Webb	40
				<u>859</u>

Fifteen

Besides the above, in several Manuscripts there is mention of these seven vessels:

Fifteen Ships that transported ViEtuals Westward.

No.	Ships.	Mariners.	No.	Ships.	Mariners.
176	Elizabeth Bonaventure of London	60	191	John of Barnstaple	40
177	Pelican	50	192	Greyhound of Alborough	65
178	Hope	40	193	Jonas	30
179	Unity	40	194	Fortune of Alborough	—
180	Pearl	50	195	Hearts-Ease	24
181	Elizabeth of London	60	196	Elizabeth of Low Aftoff	40
182	John of London	70	197	A gally not named	250
183	Barfaby	60			—
184	Marygold	50			474
185	White Hind	40			
186	Gift of God	40			
187	Jonas of Alborough	50			
188	Solomon of Alborough	60			
189	Richard Duffield	70			
190	Mary Rose	70			
		—			—
		810			

An

An Abstract of the Naval Force of England, in 1588.

	Ships.	Tonnage.	Men.	Captains.
Ships and vessels of her majesty's	—	12190	6225	34
Ships serving by tonnage with the lord admiral	—	756	248	
Ships with Sir Francis Drake	—	5220	2334	33
Ships set out by the city of London	—	6130	3020	38
Coasters with the lord admiral	—	1930	960	
Coasters with the lord Henry Seymour	—	2248	1210	23
Ships that transported victuals westward	—	1795	455	15
Voluntary ships with the lord admiral	—	1716	820	
	—	—	—	—
Summa totalis	190	31985	15272	143

Vessels not mentioned in the list in the king's }
library — — — 7

A complete List of the Spanish Fleet, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Commander in Chief.

The Squadron of Portugueze Galleons, &c. under the particular Command of the Generalissimo, the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Marin.	Sold.
1	The St. Martin, captain-general of all the fleet	1000	50	177	300
2	St. John, admiral-general	1050	50	170	231
3	St. Mark	792	—	117	292
4	St. Philip	800	40	117	415
5	St. Lewis	830	40	116	376
6	St. Matthew	750	40	50	177
7	St. James	520	30	100	300
8	Galleon of Florence	961	52	100	300
9	St. Christopher	352	30	90	300
10	St. Bernard	352	30	100	280
11	Zabra Augusta	166	13	55	55
12	Zabra Julia	166	14	50	60
12		7739	389	1242	3086

The Fleet of Biscay commanded by Don Juan Martinez de Recalde, Captain-general.

13	The St. Anne, admiral	768	30	114	323
14	Grangrina, admiral	1160	36	100	300
15	St. James	660	30	102	250
16	Conception of Zubelzu	468	20	70	100
17	Conception of Juan del Cavo	418	24	70	164
18	Magdalena de Juan Francisco de Ayala	330	22	70	200
19	St. John	350	24	80	130
20	St. Mary	165	24	100	180
21	Manuel	520	16	54	130
22	St. Maria de Monte Majore	707	30	50	220
23	Maria of Aguiare	70	10	23	30
24	Isabella	71	12	23	30
25	Michael de Sufa	96	12	24	30
26	St. Stephen	78	12	26	30
14		5861	302	906	2117

The Fleet of Castille, commanded by Don Diego Florez de Valdez, General.

No.	Ships	Tons.	Guns.	Marin.	Sold.
27	The St. Christopher galleon, } general	700	40	120	205
28	St. John Baptift, galleon	750	30	140	250
29	St. Peter, galleon	530	40	140	130
30	St. John, galleon, —	530	30	120	170
31	St. James, the great galleon	530	30	132	230
32	St. Philip and St. James, } galleon	530	30	116	159
33	Ascension, galleon	530	30	114	120
34	Galleon of our lady del Barrio	130	30	108	170
35	Galleon of St. Michael and } Celedon	530	30	110	170
36	St. Anne galleon	250	24	80	100
37	Ship, our lady of Vigonia	750	30	130	190
38	Trinity —	780	30	122	200
39	St. Katherine —	862	30	160	200
40	St. John Baptift —	652	30	130	200
41	Pinnace of our lady della Ro- } faria		24	25	30
42	St. Anthony of Padua, pinnace		16	46	300
16		8054	474	1793	2924

The Andalusian Squadron, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, General.

43	The general's ship	—	1550	50	118	304
44	St. Francis, admiral	—	915	30	60	230
45	St. John Baptift galleon	—	810	40	40	250
46	St. Gargeran —	—	569	20	60	170
47	Conception —	—	862	25	65	200
48	Duquesa, St. Anne	—	900	30	80	250
49	Trinity —	—	650	20	80	200
50	St. Mary de Juncar	—	730	30	80	240
51	St. Katherine —	—	730	30	80	230
52	St. Bartholomew	—	976	30	80	225
53	Holy Ghost, pinnace	—		10	33	40
11			8692	315	776	2339

The

The Squadron of Guypuscoa, by Don Mighel de Oquendo.

No.	Ships.		Tons.	Guns.	Marin.	Sold.
54	The St. Anne, general	—	1200	50	60	300
55	Ship, our lady of Rose, admiral		945	30	64	230
56	St. Saviour	—	958	30	50	330
57	St. Stephen	—	936	30	70	200
58	St. Martha	—	548	25	70	180
59	St. Barba	—	525	15	50	160
60	St. Bonaventura	—	369	15	60	170
61	Maria	—	291	15	40	120
62	Santa Cruze	—	680	20	40	150
63	Urfa doncetta, hulk	—	500	18	40	160
64	Annunciation, pinnace	—	60	12	16	30
65	St. Barnaby	—	60	12	16	30
66	Pinnace, our lady of Guadalupe		60	12	16	30
67	Magdalene	—	60	12	16	30
4			7192	296	608	2120

The Eastern Fleet of Ships, called Levantiscas, or Levant Squadron, commanded by Don Martinez de Vertendona.

68	The Ragazone, general	—	1294	35	90	350
69	Lama, admiral	—	728	30	80	210
70	Rata, St. Mary, crowned		820	40	90	340
71	St. John of Cecilia	—	880	30	90	290
72	Trinity Valencera	—	100	41	90	240
73	Annunciation	—	730	30	90	200
74	St. Nicholas Prodaveli	—	834	30	84	280
75	Juliana	—	780	36	80	330
76	St. Maria of Pison	—	666	22	80	250
77	Trinity Escala	—	900	25	90	302
10			7732	319	844	2792

*The Fleet of Ships, called Urcas, or Hulks, commanded
by Don Juan Lopez de Medina.*

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Marin.	Sold.
78	The great Griffin, general	— 650	40	60	250
79	St. Saviour, admiral	— 650	30	60	230
80	Sea Dog -	— 200	10	30	80
81	White Falcon	— 500	18	40	160
82	Black Castle -	— 750	25	50	250
83	Bark of Hamburg	— 600	25	50	250
84	House of Peace -	— 600	25	50	250
85	St. Peter the greater	— 600	25	50	250
86	Sampson -	— 600	25	50	250
87	St. Peter the less	— 600	25	50	250
88	Bark of Dantzick	— 450	26	50	210
89	White Falcon Medina	— 300	18	30	80
90	St. Andrew -	— 400	15	40	160
91	Little House of Peace	— 350	15	40	160
92	Flying Raven -	— 400	18	40	210
93	White Dove -	— 250	12	30	60
94	Adventure -	— 600	19	40	60
95	Santa Barba -	— 600	19	40	60
96	Cat -	— 400	9	30	50
97	St. Gabriel -	— 280	9	25	80
98	Efayas -	— 280	9	25	80
99	St. James -	— 600	19	40	60
100	Peter Martin -	— 200	30	30	80
23		1086	466	950	4170

*Pataches and Zabras, commanded by Don Antonia de
Mendoza.*

101	Our lady del Pilar de Saragossa	300	12	50	120
102	English Charity	— 180	12	36	80
103	St. Andrew of Scotland	— 150	12	30	51
104	Crucifix -	— 150	8	30	50
105	Our Lady of the Port	— 150	8	30	50
106	Conception of Caraffa	— 70	8	30	50
107	Our Lady of Begova	— 70	8	30	60
108	Conception de Capitillo	— 60	8	30	60
					109 St.

No.	Ships.	Tons.	Guns.	Marin.	Sold.
109	St. Hieronymus	— 60	8	30	60
110	Our Lady of Grace	— 60	8	30	60
111	Conception of Francis Laffero	60	8	30	60
112	Our Lady of Guadalupe	— 60	8	30	60
113	St. Francis -	— 60	8	30	60
114	Holy Ghost -	— 60	8	30	60
115	Our Lady of Frenesda	— 60	8	30	60
116	Zabra of the Trinity	— 60	8	30	60
117	Zabra of our Lady del Castro	60	8	30	60
118	St. Andrew -	— 60	8	30	60
119	Conception -	— 60	8	30	60
120	Conception of Sommariba	— 60	8	30	60
121	Santa Clara -	— 60	8	30	60
122	St. Katherine -	— 60	8	30	60
123	St. John de Caraffa	— 60	8	30	60
124	Assumption -	— 60	8	30	60
24		2090	204	746	1103

The four Galeasses of Naples, commanded by Don Hugo de Moncada.

125	The St. Lawrence, general	50	130	270
126	Patrona - —	50	112	180
127	Girona - —	50	120	170
128	Neopolitana - —	50	115	124
4		200	477	744

These four galeasses had slaves—1200

The four Gallies of Portugal, commanded by Don Diego de Medrana.

129	The Capitana	—	—	50	106	110
130	Princess	—	—	50	106	110
131	Diana	—	—	50	106	110
132	Vazana	—	—	50	106	110
4		200	424	440		

In these four gallies were slaves — 888

An

An Abstract of the several Squadrons which composed the whole Spanish Fleet.

Squadrons and Commanders.	Tons.	Guns.	Marin.	Soldiers
12 The squadrons of Portuguese galleons, under the particular command of the generalissimo	7739	389	1242	3086
14 The fleet of Biscay, commanded by don Juan Martinez de Recalde, captain-general	5861	302	906	2117
16 The fleet of Castile, commanded by don Diego de Valdez, general	8054	474	1793	2924
The burden of two pinnaces of this fleet is not mentioned				
11 The Andalusian squadron, commanded by don Pedro de Valdez, general	8692	315	776	2359
The burden of one pinnacle of this fleet is not mentioned				
14 The squadron of Guypuscoa, commanded by don Mighel de Oquendo	7192	296	608	2120
10 The eastern fleet of ships, called Levantiscas, commanded by don Martin Vertendona	8632	319	844	2792
23 The fleet of ships called urcas, or hulks, commanded by don Juan Lopez de Medina	10860	466	950	4107
1 Pataches and Zabras, commanded by don Antonio de Mendoza	2090	204	746	1103
4 The galeasses of Naples, commanded by don Hugo de Moncada	200	477	744	

The

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Squadrons and Commanders	Tons.	Guns.	Marin.	Soldiers.
4 The gallies of Portugal, commanded by don Diego de Medrana	59120	3165	8766	21855
132 Ships				

The burden of the four galleasses, and four gallies, is not mentioned; but they had, besides the mariners and soldiers abovementioned, 2088 galley-slaves.

Hence we see, that this invincible armada consisted of 132 ships, and 20 caravels; being 59,120 tons, exclusive of the tonnage of three pinnaces, four galleasses, four gallies, and the caravels; carrying 3165 pieces of cannon, 8766 mariners, 21,855 soldiers, 2088 galley-slaves; in all 32,709 men.

According to a Spanish Manuscript, this formidable Armada consisted of One Hundred and Forty-five Ships, &c. namely:

	Ships.	Sabras
The squadron of galleons of Portugal	— 10	2
The Biscayan squadron, commanded by don Juan Martinez de Recalde	} 10	4
The Andalusian squadron, commanded by don Pedro de Valdez		
The Guypuscoan squadron, commanded by don Mighel de Oquendo	} 10	4
The squadron of Italian ships, commanded by don Martin de Vertendona		
Don Antonia de Mendoza's squadron	— 4	19
Don Juan de Medina's squadron of urcas, or hulks	} 22	

The

	Ships.	Sabras
The squadron of don Diego de Florez de Valdez, consisting of ships from St. Lucar and the Indies	14	4
The squadron of pataches, commanded by don Alonzo Florez		13
	90	47
Galeasses, commanded by don Hugo de Moncado	47	
Galleons, commanded by don Diego de Medrana	4	
	4	
	145	

* * The list of English ships is taken from a manuscript in the king's library, in which the number of mariners is not put down; but other manuscripts in the Cottonian library supply that defect. We have no authentic information of the number of guns which each ship carried; for want of which the comparative force of the two navies of England and Spain, cannot be precisely ascertained. In numbers, it must be owned, the English fleet is superior; but the amount of tonnage, as well as the number of men employed, shew the great ascendancy of the Spanish navy; being very near double in burden, and more than double in men.

It will, we doubt not, be highly acceptable to our readers, to see the footing on which the officers of England stood at this present period, by the following

Rates for the Entertainment of the Officers of the Companies appointed for the Service in the Year 1588.

The lieutenant general of the army per diem	6l.	
Halberdiers at per diem	30s.	
The marshal of the field per diem	40s.	
Halberdiers at per diem	15s.	
The provost marshal per diem	13s.	4 d.
The gaoler per diem	1	8
Eight tipstaves at 8d. a piece per diem	5	4
Ten halberdiers at ditto	6	8
The captain general of the launces per diem	20	0
Lieutenants	10	0
Guidon	1	6
Trumpet	1	6
Clerk	1	6
Surgeon	1	6
Ten halberdiers at 8d. a piece	6	8
Captain general of the light-horse per diem	20	0
Lieutenant	10	0
Guidon	1	6
Trumpet	1	6
Clerk	1	6
Surgeon	1	6
Ten halberdiers at 8d. a piece	6	8
The colonel general of the footmen per diem	40	0
Lieutenant	10	0
Serjeant major	10	0
Four corporals of the field at 4s. each	16	0
Ten halberdiers at 8d. each	6	8
The treasurer at war per diem	6	8
Four clerks at 2s. each	8	0
Ten halberdiers at 8d. each	6	8
The master of the ordnance per diem	10	0
Lieutenant	6	8
Inferior officers of the ordnance per diem		
Ten halberdiers at		
The muster master per diem	6	8
Four clerks at 2s. each	8	0
The commissary of the victuals per diem	6	8
One clerk	2	0

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The trench master per diem	_____	6s.	8d.
The master of the carriages per diem	_____	4	0
Master carttakres the piece per diem			
Four clerks at the piece			
The quarter master per diem	_____	10	0
Six furriers at the piece			
The scoutmaster per diem	_____	6	8
Two light-horse at 16d. each	_____	2	8
The judge general per diem	_____	2	8
The entertainment of the officers of the regiment			
The colonel, being a nobleman, per diem	_____	20	0
He being a knight or nobleman's son, per diem		13	4
Lieutenant colonel per diem	_____	6	8

Mr. Campbell gives us the following

List of the English Fleet in the Year 1588, drawn together to make head against the Armada of Spain.

Men of war belonging to her majesty	_____	17
Other ships hired by her majesty for this service	_____	12
Tenders and store-ships	_____	9
Furnished by the city of London, being double the number the queen demanded, all well-manned, and thoroughly provided with ammunition and provision	_____	16
Tenders and store-ships	_____	4
Furnished by the city of Bristol, large and strong ships, and which did excellent service	_____	3
A tender	_____	1
From Barnstaple, merchant-ships converted into frigates		3
From Exeter	_____	2
A stout pinnace	_____	1
From Plymouth stout ships, every way equal to the queen's men of war	_____	7
A flyboat	_____	
Under the command of lord Henry Seymour, in the Narrow Seas, of the queen's ships and vessels in her service		16
Ships fitted out at the expence of the nobility, gentry, and commons of England	_____	43
By the merchant adventurers, prime ships, and excellently well furnished	_____	10
Sir William Winter's pinnace	_____	1
In all		143

The

The Numbers appointed to be drawn

The following lists, which contain an authentic and distinct account of the strength of England, by land, at this great crisis, are transcribed from a volume of the Harleian collection of manuscripts, in the British Museum.

The Numbers appointed to be drawn together for the Defence of her Majesty's Person, put under Regiments Anno 1588.

		Men.	Launces.	Light-horse.	Petronels.
Sir William Hatten	London	1000			
	Middlesex	1000	35	88	
Sir William Knowles	Northampton	1000	20	80	
	Oxford	1000	8	120	
	Gloucester	1500	20	180	
	Bedford	500	17	40	600
Sir Francis Knowles	Buckingham	1000	25	119	500
	Hertford	1500	20	119	300
	Cambridgehire	500	6	40	300
	Essex	2000	49	250	
	Kent	2000			
Sir Thomas Cecill	Surry	800			
	Sussex	2000	70	230	300
	Norfolk	2000	80	65	300
	Warwick	600	12	76	
Sir Henry Goodyere	Leicester	500	9	70	
	Huntingdon	400	6	20	
	Worcester	600			
	Men	19900			
	Launces	377			
	Light-horse	2127			
	Petronels	2300			
		24704			

An Abstract of the Number of every Sort of the armed Men in the Counties through the Kingdom, taken Anno 1588.

Counties.	Amount of able men as delivered in.	Of which were armed.	Of which were trained.	Of which were untrained.	Pioneers.	Launces.	Light- horse.	Petronels.
Suffex	7572	4000	2000	2000	50	20	204	30
Surrey	8552	1892	1500	372	200	8	98	29
Barkeshire	3120	1900	1000	900	115	10	95	2
Oxonford	4504	1164	1044	120	30	30	150	40
Gloucester	14000	4000	3000	1000	300	20	180	35
Essex	6340	4000	2000	2000	600	50	200	
Northampton	1240	1200	600	600	80	20	80	
Hampsh. or Southamp.	2478	2478	806	1672	1000	80	81	374
Norfolk	4400	4400	2300	2100		80	230	55
Suffolk	4239	4239	2000	2239	1077	70	230	84
Kent	10866	7124	2958	4166		64	265	
Lancashire	1170	1170	1170			30	50	91
Cheshire	2189	2189	1500	650	630	20	50	37
Lincoln	6400	2150	1500	1800		23	130	
Dorset	3300	3300	3060	2540	600	120		22
Devonshire	10000	6200	400	600	60		150	26
Derbyshire	1600	1000	400	600	100	8	50	20
Stafford	1900	1000	400	600	600	8	50	
Buckingham	2850	600	600			4	96	
Cornwall	7160	3600	1500	2100	1000	50	250	60
S. meret	4000	4000	4000	1000		15	100	10
Wiltshire	7400	2400	1200	500	9	14	40	80
Cambridge	1000	1000	500	500		19	65	
Huntington	400	400	400	500		20	60	
Middlesex	1000	1000	500	500	200	20	60	
Hertfordshire	5000	3000	1500	1500	100	20	60	20
Northingham	2800	1000	400	600		20	60	
London	17083	10000	6000	4000				
Total of the Eng. Shires.	131163	70406	46027	33759	6751	823	3025	1035

The

The Abstract of the Numbers of every Sort of the armed Men in the Marches of Wales, and the English Counties annexed.

Counties.	Able Men.	Armed.	Trained.	Untrained.	Pioneers.	Launces.	Light-horfe.	Petronels.
Salop	1200	1200	600	600	700	28	70	100
Denbigh	1200	600	400	200	160		30	30
Flinthire	300	300	200	100	200		3	10
Caermarthen	300	704	300	400	300		15	
Radnor	1500	400	200	200	100		14	
Anglesea	1120	1120			100		17	
Worcester	600	600	600		100	17	83	10
Montgomery	600	600	300	300	50	1	19	30
Pembroke	800	800	600	200	306			30
Sum total of the Welch shires	7620	6324	3200	2000	2106	46	251	210
English counties	—	70406	46627	33759	6751	823	3025	1035

Sum of the armed Footmen	Trained men	49827	85586
	Untrained	35759	
Besides horfemen	Pioneers	8857	Total 99833
	Launces	869	
	Light-horfe	3276	
	Petronels	1245	

The Besides the forces upon the borders, and the forces of Yorkshire reserved to answer the services northward; and in dry of the Welch shires, which are not certified.

The nation was no sooner delivered from its apprehensions from Spain, than the attention of its sovereign, her ministers, and, in short, the whole body of the people, was bent on advancing the consequence of the state, by every means of improving its natural advantages. To encourage sailors to enter into the navy, by securing to them a comfortable provision when disabled, the chest of Chatham was this year erected, by the advice and assistance of Sir Francis Drake. This regulation gave rise to the noble foundation of Greenwich hospital. The next year the queen took the most effectual measures for retalliating on her enemies the mischiefs which they intended to have brought on her, and, at the same time, eased the revenue from supporting the burden of the war. The expedient adopted to answer these two grand national purposes was, to encourage private adventurers to enter into confederacies for the fitting out of ships, and raising a force, to annoy and plunder the Spaniards on their own coasts. Hereupon a considerable armament was set on foot; the queen only furnishing a few ships, and giving the enterprize the sanction of her authority. Sir Francis Drake commanded the fleet, and Sir John Norris the army: the avowed design of the expedition was, to recover the crown of Portugal for don Antonio, from whom Philip had wrested it. Stow makes the number of ships assembled, upon this occasion, to be one hundred and forty-six, and fourteen thousand men; but Camden and Rapin reduce the number of each. With the force thus collected, however, they landed at Corunna, in Gallicia, commonly called the Groyne; the lower town they took, but were foiled in their attempts upon the higher. Peniche next fell into their hands; after which the army proceeded to Lisbon, and were followed by the fleet. The force
which

which Philip had, by this time, assembled, rendered their designs upon this capital abortive. The object of the expedition being private again, a scrupulous adherence to the rights of neutral powers was not likely to be observed; here, therefore, by way of indemnification, as Camden says, they seized upon sixty hulks, or fly-boats, belonging to the German Hanse-Towns. The English maintained the legality of their seizure against the remonstrances of Dantzick, Poland, and the Empire, where the property vested; and, at length, a total breach between England and the Hanse-Towns ensued. Being unequal to the reduction of Lisbon, the English turned their force against Vigo, which they sacked, and returned to England, with one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; and a very rich booty, which was to compensate for the loss of six thousand men. This is, perhaps, the greatest privateering enterprize of any which the modern history of the world furnishes.

In the year 1590 the queen farmed her customs for fifty thousand pounds per annum. Until this time they had been farmed to the same person, Sir Thomas Smith, for fourteen thousand pounds per annum.

The royal navy was now put on a more regular footing than it had hitherto been, and the queen allotted the yearly sum of eight thousand nine hundred and seventy pounds for the repairs of it*.

About this time the private adventurers in the nation were grown very numerous; and being encouraged, by having so rich an enemy as the Spaniards to deal with, they went out in swarms, to cruise upon their shipping. Among these adventurers the earl of Cumberland distinguished him-

* Burchet's Naval History, p. 345.

self: for, having fitted out a strong squadron, he sailed to the Azores Islands, where he did the Spaniards very material mischief, and procured to himself, and those concerned with him, considerable advantages. The Island of Fayal he reduced, and from the city and castle there, he brought off fifty-eight pieces of cannon*. He likewise forced the Island of Graciosa to a composition, and took several rich ships, the cargo of one of which was valued at upwards of one hundred thousand pounds; but, in his return to England, this valuable prize was cast away in Mount's Bay, on the coast of Cornwall †.

In the year 1591 lord Thomas Howard, second son to the duke of Norfolk, was sent out with a squadron to intercept the Spanish Plate-fleet in its return from America; who repaired for that purpose to the Azores: he had with him seven of the queen's ships, and as many fitted out by private adventurers. Whilst he continued on this station, a very powerful fleet, which Philip had assembled, in hopes of thereby effecting a descent on England, arrived in search of him; the king of Spain being diverted from his purpose, by the necessity of rescuing his treasure from the hands of the English. The Spanish fleet, according to Burchet, consisted of fifty-three ships, and was commanded by don Alphonso Bassano, an expert seaman. This attack was so sudden and unlooked for, that lord Howard very narrowly escaped falling into their hands. His vice-admiral, Sir Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge*, waiting to take on board some of his men, who were straggling about the country, was surrounded by the enemy: in this situation, he fought gallantly for fifteen hours, till being himself

* Burchet's Naval Hist. p. 356.

† Sir William Monson.

desperately

desperately wounded, and his ship much disabled, he ordered her to be sunk: but the officers choosing rather to confide in the generosity of the enemy, yielded her up on promise of their lives and liberties; and Sir Richard was carried on board the Spanish admiral, where he died two days after. The *Revenge* was so shattered that she soon after sunk, with two hundred Spaniards on board. The *Ascension*, a Spanish man of war, and a double fly-boat full of men, were sunk in the engagement. The day after this action the Plate-fleet arrived: so much do the events of war depend on contingencies which no human foresight or valour can influence: had it arrived but a few days sooner, the English would have possessed themselves of an immense treasure. Before the Spanish fleet returned to port, they were overtaken by a violent storm, in which near a hundred vessels perished, together with the wealth with which they were freighted. In this instance, as in every other, the superior skill and dexterity of the English in nautical affairs, is apparent: for Sir Thomas Howard's squadron weathered the storm, sustained scarce any damage, and made prize of several Spanish ships. *

Much about the same time ten English merchant-ships returning home from the Levant, in passing the Straits of Gibraltar, fell in with twelve Spanish gallies, each manned with three hundred mariners; after fighting them six hours, they obliged them to make off, having sustained great loss, whilst scarce any was sustained on the part of the English †.

The first voyage from England to the East Indies was now undertaken with three ships; but only

* Burchet's *Naval History*, p. 356. Campbell's *Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. I. p. 411.

† Anderson on *Commerce*, Vol. I. p. 437.

the captain of one of the vessels, with a few of his men, returned to England, having continued a considerable time on an uninhabited island : two of the ships were lost, and the third being piratically seized by some of the crew, was never heard of afterwards *.

In the year 1594 the queen sent a small squadron to sea, under the command of Sir Martin Frobisher, to reduce the port of Brest in Bretagné, which the king of Spain had taken, by the assistance of the Roman catholics of France, who had entered into a confederacy against Henry IV. and were styled the Leaguers. It was of great importance to wrest from the crown of Spain this port, as it would have enabled them greatly to annoy the commerce of England ; but the place was strong by its situation, and had been rendered more so by the fortifications which had been erected ; it was also defended by a numerous garrison of foreign troops. Sir John Norris, with a small English army, formed the siege by land ; whilst Sir Martin Frobisher, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour, by which he effectually blocked up the place by sea. He then landed his sailors ; and, in conjunction with Sir John Norris, stormed the works : the Spaniards defended the place with great bravery ; but the impetuous valour of the English prevailed, after a very obstinate and bloody conflict : in this action the naval commander received a gun-shot wound in his side, with which he languished for some time, but soon after his return to England he died †

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 439.

† Sir Martin Frobisher, or Forbisher, was one of the most able seamen of his time : of undaunted courage, great presence of mind, and equal to almost any undertaking ; yet in his carriage blunt, and a very rigid observer of discipline ; which made him rather feared than beloved, by those that served under him. *Campbell's Lives of the Admirals*, Vol. I. p. 482.

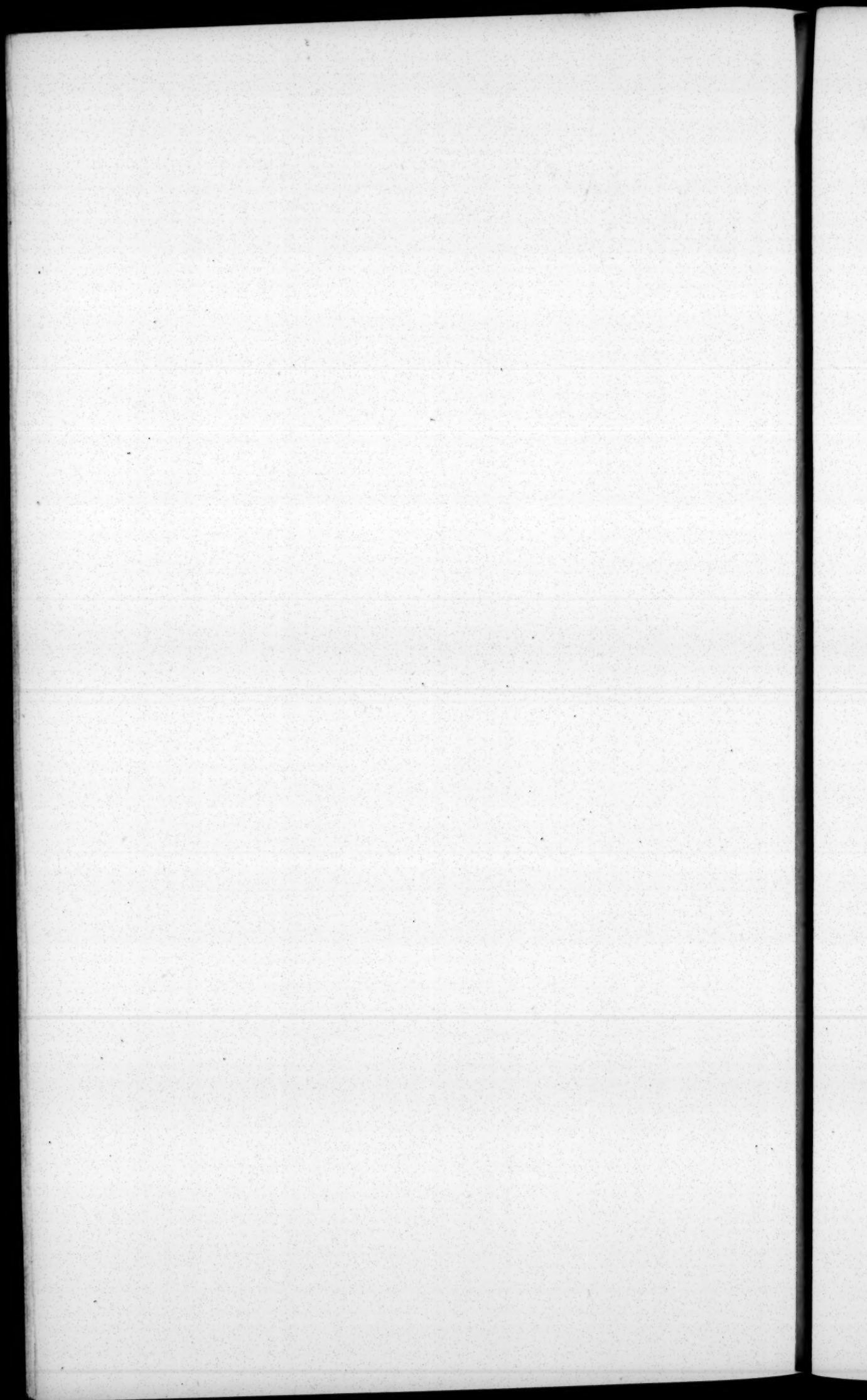
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S^r. FRANCIS DRAKE.

Died 1595-6 Aged 50



The next year * Sir Amias Preston, with three ships, took and burnt Porto Santo, at the Madeiras; thence proceeding to the East-Indies, he took and destroyed some of the Spanish settlements. About the same time Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Francis Drake, with a very considerable force, arrived in the West-Indies. Of all the enterprizes throughout the war, none so much excited the expectations of the public as this, and none terminated less successfully. Three months after the fleet had sailed from Plymouth, Sir John Hawkins died at sea †. Drake then made a furious attack on the shipping in the harbour of Porto Rico; but he met with a more gallant resistance, and stronger fortifications, than he expected; the losses they had incurred by security, having taught the Spaniards the useful lesson of watchfulness. Being, at length, obliged to desist, the English admiral attempted to cross the isthmus of Darien to Panama, on the South-Seas; but the Spaniards every where availed themselves so much of the advantages which the nature of the country gave them, that he was obliged to return to his ships, without accomplishing his design. Such checks, given him by a power that he had so often vanquished, sat very ill on the haughty spirit of Drake; and, in his passage home, that great commander died.

In some measure to retrieve the misadventure of this enterprize, Jamaica was attacked by Sir Anthony Shirley, who took St. Jago de la Vega, its chief town, and gave it up to plunder: at the same time an important expedition was undertaken

* An. Dom. 1595.

† This naval hero held a command at sea forty-eight years, and was treasurer of the navy twenty two years. According to Sir William Monson, he introduced more useful inventions into the navy, and established better regulations, than any officer who had commanded therein before his time.

against the city of Cadiz. The Spaniards had made a descent in Cornwall, where they burnt some small towns, and did other mischief: indeed their force was not considerable, being embarked in four galleys: this squadron was commanded by don Diego Brochero. The spirit of the nation being roused by this insult, it was resolved to retaliate the blow with redoubled violence; for which purpose a large fleet was collected, consisting of one hundred and twenty-six ships of war; on board of which were embarked more than seven thousand land-forces. This armament was commanded by the earl of Essex, and the lord high admiral (Essex). This was strengthened by a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships. The design of this expedition was to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city; and this they fully accomplished. All the shipping in the harbour was burnt except two galleons, which were brought to England, and one hundred brass cannon; the forts were levelled with the ground; eleven of the king of Spain's best ships, forty-four merchant-ships, and an immense quantity of naval stores, as well as provisions of all kinds, were destroyed; and the town itself was saved from plunder, at the price of five hundred and twenty thousand ducats. This glorious expedition greatly advanced the reputation of the queen, her ministers, commanders, naval and land-forces*. The admiral, on his return home, was created earl of Nottingham: and in the preamble of the patent it was expressed, that the new dignity was conferred on him, on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, and destroying the Spanish ships.

* Stow's Annals, p. 771. Sir William Monson.

It will be proper to mention here a private expedition undertaken by Sir Richard Hawkins, son of Sir John Hawkins. In the year 1593 he fitted out two large ships and a pinnace, at his own expence; and had the queen's commission, authorizing him to attack the Spaniards in South-America. He lost his pinnace in the river of Plate, and being deserted by the ship which had till then accompanied him, he pushed on his voyage towards the southern extremity of America. He is supposed to have been the first European who discovered the Falkland-Isles, called likewise the Malouines, which lie near the eastern entrance of the straits of Magelhaen; to which he gave the name of Maiden-Islands, in honour of his royal mistress; and for the possession of which the nation, in 1771, was well nigh involved in a war with Spain. Hawkins made several prizes on the coast of Peru; but was at length, attacked by don Bertrand de Castro, who had with him a squadron of eight ships, with two thousand men on board: he found means, however, to disengage himself from this unequal force; and not intimidated by the superiority of the enemy, he continued cruising in those parts, allured by the hope of farther plunder. He was soon after, a second time attacked by the Spanish admiral, against whom he made a desperate stand, for three days and three nights; at length the greatest part of his men being killed, his ship scarcely navigable, and himself desperately wounded, he surrendered, on condition that himself and his crew, should be sent to England by the first conveyance. Whilst he remained a prisoner, de Castro shewed him a letter from the Spanish ministry to the viceroy of Peru, which gave an exact account of Hawkins's expedition; the number of his ships, their burden, men, guns, ammunition, &c. which proves the
close

close correspondence maintained by the court of Spain, with some who were employed under queen Elizabeth. Sir Richard Hawkins continued some time in America, and was treated with great humanity by the admiral. At length he was ordered to Spain, instead of England, and remained, for several years, a prisoner in Seville; at last obtaining his enlargement, he returned to England, but not before the death of his father Sir John Hawkins. As he lived many years after this, and went no more to sea, he employed this season of tranquility in writing a large account of his adventures, to the time of his being taken by the Spaniards, which was afterwards published. A writer speaking of Sir John and Sir Richard Hawkins, says, "If fortune had been as propitious to them both, as they were eminent for virtue, valour, and knowledge, they might have vied with the heroes of any age"*. It must be acknowledged, however, that Sir Richard Hawkins owed his misfortunes to his own rashness; for had he quitted the south sea, and returned home, immediately after the first engagement which he had with the Spaniards, he would, most probably, have escaped that reverse of fortune which afterwards befel him. Indiscreet bravery neither benefits the man who possesses it, nor the cause in which it is exerted.

Sir Walter Raleigh had sent out a ship, for the purpose of making discoveries in the country of Guiana; and, about this time, went himself in search of the immense treasures which he pictured to himself were deposited in that country. He sailed up the river Oronoque with a select band, in boats, four hundred miles from the sea, and in his progress endured great hardships, without lighting

* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 492.

on the expected recompense : after a month's fruitless search, he was obliged to return to his ships, and proceed with them to England. By this miscarriage the golden dreams which had been formed, vanished into air, to the great disappointment of the adventurers, but to the infinite benefit of the nation ; for a spirit of industry had then diffused itself, very universally, through all ranks of people, and under the auspices of a sovereign, naturally inclined to second the efforts of her subjects, the nation began to see its true interest, and to avail itself of its natural advantages ; but if, in an evil hour, the bowels of the earth had yielded the precious metals in great abundance, supineness would have taken place of industry, and the nation would have languished under a plethory.

Queen Elizabeth, who was ever parsimonious, having conceived some disgusts at the United States, was inclined to reduce her disbursements to them : she even went so far as to direct Sir Thomas Bodley, her ambassador there, to require the payment of all the money which she had expended in supporting them. The States-general replied to this demand, by pleading the conditions of the treaty subsisting between them and the queen, whereby they were not bound to repay her till the conclusion of a peace : to strengthen this plea, they represented their poverty and distress ; the great superiority of the Spaniards, and the embarrassments under which they laboured in carrying on the war, which entirely disabled them from raising money to discharge the arrears. After much negociation, a new treaty was formed, by which the States agreed to free the queen immediately, from the charge of the English auxiliaries, computed at forty thousand pounds a year ; to pay her annually twenty thousand pounds for some years ; to assist her with a certain
number

number of ships; and to conclude no peace, or treaty, without her consent. They also bound themselves, when a peace with Spain took place, to pay her one hundred thousand pounds annually; for four years; which, when performed, was agreed to be in lieu of all demands. It was farther stipulated, that the States should be supplied with a body of four thousand auxiliaries from England, which they were to pay*.

Almost every season since the destruction of the Spanish armada, the English had undertaken some naval enterprize against the Spaniards; attacking them either in Europe or in America. Philip, whose whole reign was a state of warfare, was so deeply engaged in other quarrels, that he was little able to take revenge for these insults. At length it was his fortune to become master of Calais, after a siege of three weeks: the possession of such a seaport, so commodiously situated for annoying the English, hastened his operations. Determined to improve the advantage which this circumstance presented, he began to prepare a naval and military force, with which he meditated a descent in Ireland, where he had long fomented the rebellious spirit of the catholic inhabitants. The queen soon received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition against Cadiz, were making vast preparation at Ferrol and the Groyne, resolved to prevent their enterprize, and to destroy their shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships; forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers; she embarked on board this fleet five thousand new-levied

* Camden's Life of Queen Elizabeth, p. 586.

soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops under Sir Francis Vere. The earl of Essex, commander in chief both of the land and sea-forces, was at the head of one squadron; lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice admiral of another; and Sir Walter Raleigh of the third. This powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth, 9th of July, 1597; but were no sooner out of the harbour, than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and before they could be refitted, Essex found that their provisions were so far spent, that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed, therefore, all the soldiers, except the one thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol, or the Groyne, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting the fleet of galleons which were on their passage from Mexico. This annual fleet, navigation being then imperfectly understood, had a stated course as well as season, both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain islands, at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The fleet was expected, about this time, at the islands of the Azores; thither, therefore, Essex bent his course, intending likewise to attack Fayal, one of those islands, which determination he had imparted to Sir Walter Raleigh. Soon after, the squadrons were separated, and Raleigh arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should, by farther delay, have leisure to make preparations for their defence. He succeeded in the enterprize; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and construed it as an intention of depriving him of the glory

of the action. He cashiered, therefore, Sydney, Bret, Berry, and others, who had concurred in the attempt; and would have proceeded to inflict the same punishment on Raleigh himself, but for the intervention of lord Thomas Howard, who prevailed upon Raleigh, although high-spirited, to make submissions to the general. Essex, altho' he was hasty and passionate, was yet very placable; he not only received Raleigh into favour, but restored the other officers to their commands*. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity, which afterwards took place between these two gallant commanders.

This matter adjusted, Essex made the proper dispositions for intercepting the Mexican fleet; and Sir William Monson, whose station was the farthest off shore, having fallen in with them, made the signals which had been appointed. That able officer ascribes the failure of Essex, when he was so near attaining the mighty prize, to his want of experience in seamanship†. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to the Azores, and got into the harbour of Angra, in Tercira, which was well defended by many forts, before the English fleet could overtake them. Only three of the ships fell into the hands of the English, which were, however, so richly laden, as to repay all the charges of the expedition‡. The general then made a descent on the Island of St. Michael, another of the Azores, plundered the town of Villa Franca, and then steered towards home. In the mean time the Spaniards were meditating great designs. The absence of the English fleet gave them an opportunity of fitting out their squadrons

* Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 173.

† Burchett's Naval History, p. 365.

‡ Idem, 174.

from

from Corunna and Ferrol. With these they purposed to have made a descent in Cornwall, and to have possessed themselves of the port of Falmouth, where leaving a strong garrison, their next attempt was meant to be the intercepting the English fleet in its return, which, after so long and rough a voyage, were little able to make head against a large fleet of ships, just fresh out of port. The fate of England seemed now again to be suspended, as the destruction of its fleet would have reduced it to a very feeble condition. The Spanish admiral joined his squadrons, and proceeded with them to the Islands of Scilly, almost within sight of the English shore. Here he called a council of war, in order to give his officers necessary instructions, as to the intended descent; but while all the captains of the fleet were on board the admiral's ship, a violent storm arose, which, for a considerable time, prevented their return to their ships, and in the issue entirely dispersed the whole fleet. Eighteen capital ships perished in this storm, whilst several were forced into English ports, and there taken. The mischiefs which the Spanish navy repeatedly suffered from tempests, were chiefly owing to the unwieldiness of their ships, and the unskilfulness of their sailors; for the fleet under Essex, though exposed to all the fury of the same tempest, which buffeted them severely, yet rode it out without suffering the loss of a single ship.

From Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts (printed in the third volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages) we learn, that the then famous and adventurous earl of Cumberland, was the first English subject that built a ship so large as eight hundred tons burden; which he employed, with some other ships, in an expedition, at his own private expence, against Spain.

The several trials for a north-west passage to China, by Hudson's and Davis's Straits; and of a north-east passage thither, either to the north of Nova-Zembla, or else between it and the main land of Russia, through the Straits of Waygatz; also the annual voyages to Archangel, had so accustomed the English to those boisterous seas, that some of the company trading to Russia at this time, set on foot a fishery for whales, which was now become an object of commercial regard, from the fins of that fish being made use of in women's stays*.

The German merchants of the Steel-yard were now considered as the rivals of the English merchants, the latter being united under the name of the Merchant-adventurers: accordingly, great jealousies prevailed between those two bodies. The Hanse-Towns had so much influence in the German court, their views being seconded by the Spanish minister, as to procure the expulsion of the English merchants out of Germany. As a retaliation for this injury, the queen directed the lord-mayor, and sheriffs of London, to shut up the house inhabited by the merchants of the Hanse-Towns, at the Steel-yard; and likewise published a proclamation, enjoining all the Germans there, and every where throughout England, to quit the kingdom, on the same day that the English were obliged to leave Staden. From this time, the place called the Steel-yard has been appropriated to other purposes.

In the year 1598 the earl of Cumberland fitted out a squadron of eleven sail, at his own expence, with which he sailed to the coast of Portugal, with a view to intercept the East-India carracks bound out from Lisbon; but the Spaniards being informed

* Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 448.

of the danger which awaited them, unloaded their ships, and deferred their voyage to the next season. The earl, finding himself disappointed of his expected prey, sailed for the Canaries, where he made a descent on the Island of Lancerota, which he plundered, and then proceeded for America, and attacked Porto Rico, which place four years before, had foiled Sir Francis Drake. The earl coming upon the place by surprize, became master of it with small loss. As he designed to make this city and harbour his station, from whence to cruise on the Spanish coast, he drove out all the inhabitants. He had not long employed himself in strengthening the fortifications, before he found the place not tenable, on account of the malignity of the climate to his soldiers and seamen; he was, therefore, obliged to abandon his conquest, and return to England, with more glory than wealth, bringing with him about sixty pieces of brass cannon*.

The same year died the great Cecil, lord Burleigh, in an advanced age, and equally regretted by his sovereign and the people; a peculiar circumstance for one who had been prime minister near forty years. He had risen gradually from small beginnings, by the mere force of merit. None of Elizabeth's other inclinations, or affections, could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had the generosity, or good sense, to pay assiduous court to her, during the reign of Mary, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, Elizabeth thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or ima-

* Burchett's Naval History, p. 367.

gination;

gination; and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business. Of all the queen's ministers, he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity; a fortune, not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality*. Walsingham, his colleague, who died eight years before him, was so poor, that his family was obliged to inter him privately. This latter minister spent his whole time, and estate, in the service of his queen and country. He was remarkable for obtaining the best information of the secret designs of all foreign powers, whereby the plots and contrivances against the peace of the nation were effectually counteracted†.

Philip II. that sworn foe to the repose of Europe, did not long survive lord Burleigh. He had languished, for some time, under a complication of disorders; and, at length, expired, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-third of his reign‡. When the dominions of the house of Austria devolved on this prince, all Europe was struck with terror; lest the power of a family which had been raised by fortune, should now be carried to an immeasurable height, by the wisdom and conduct of this monarch. But never were apprehensions found, in the event, to be more groundless. Slow, without prudence; ambitious, without enterprize; false, without deceiving any body; and refined, without any true judgment. Such was the character of Philip, and such the character, which, during his life-time, and after his death, he impressed on the Spanish councils. Revolted or depopulated provinces; discontented or indolent inhabitants, were the spectacles which those dominions, lying in every

* Hume's History of England, Vol. V. p. 392. † Camden, p. 560.
‡ Mariana, lib. X. chap. 14.

climate of the globe, presented to his successor†. He cannot, however, be supposed insincere in the zeal which he expressed for religion: but as his religion was of the most corrupt kind, it served to increase the natural depravity of his disposition; and not only allowed, but even prompted him to commit the most odious and shocking crimes. Although a prince, in the bigotted age of Philip, might be persuaded that the interest of religion would be advanced by falsehood and persecution; yet it might be expected, that in a virtuous prince, the sentiments of honour and humanity would, on some occasions, triumph over the dictates of superstition: but of such a triumph there occurs not a single instance in the reign of Philip; who, without hesitation, violated his most sacred obligations, as often as religion afforded him a pretence; and, under that pretence, exercised, for many years, the most unrelenting cruelty, without reluctance or remorse. His ambition, which was exorbitant; his resentment, which was implacable; his arbitrary temper, which would submit to no controul, concurred with his bigotted zeal for the catholic religion, and carried the sanguinary spirit, which that religion was calculated to inspire, to a greater height in him, than it ever attained in any other prince of that, or of any former or succeeding age.

Ever since the death of the earl of Leicester, the earl of Essex had been admitted to the chief place in the queen's favour. This young nobleman, to great exterior accomplishments added some talents, and some virtues. In the field, and at court, he ever appeared with superior lustre. It was pleasant to see a maiden queen, past her grand climacteric, gratified by the gallant assiduities of a courtier

† Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. VI. p. 6.

under thirty. The temper of Essex was open, frank, and impetuous; he likewise possessed a turn for ridicule, which, in the ebullitions of youthful vivacity, he could not always restrain, and which were sometimes exercised on the sacred foibles of his sovereign. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command equal to his shining qualities, he would have so rivetted himself in the queen's confidence, that none of his enemies would ever have been able to impeach his credit: but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference, which the queen's temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. This lord, being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, was so heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rule both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation, and she instantly gave him a box on the ear; adding a passionate expression, suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore, that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII. himself; and immediately withdrew from court. The queen's partiality was, nevertheless, so prevalent, that she presently reinstated him in her favour, and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired fresh force from this short interval of anger and resentment. Soon after, a rebellion in Ireland, which had risen to an alarming height, required the ~~dominating~~ ^{dominating} ~~man~~ ^{man} of consequence, and military skill and talents, to suppress it. The queen, who entertained an opinion of the qualifications of Essex for such a department, (much better founded than

than that which she had formerly had for Leicester, although the event did not confirm it) appointed him governor of Ireland, by the title of lord-lieutenant, and vested him with very ample powers. But the expectations formed of Essex, were by no means answered by his conduct; and there was reason to suspect that he was secretly gaining the rebels to his interest, and had formed designs of employing the troops which he commanded, to the annoyance of the queen his sovereign. Essex finding his interest at court suffer by his absence, suddenly quitted Ireland, and appeared in the queen's presence; for which unauthorized conduct, as well as for his maleadministration, he was ordered into confinement, and to be examined by the council; by whose sentence he was stripped of his dignity of privy-counsellor, earl marshal of England, and master of the ordnance, and sentenced to remain a prisoner during the queen's pleasure. Before his cause was brought to a hearing in the council, Essex had wrote a very supplicating letter to the queen, in which he told her, that he kissed her majesty's hand, and the rod with which she had corrected him; but that he could never recover his wonted cheerfulness till she deigned to admit him to that presence, which had ever been the chief source of his happiness and enjoyment. That he had now resolved to make amends for his past errors, to retire into a country solitude, and say with Nebuchadnezzar, "Let my dwelling be with the beasts of the field; let me eat grass as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it shall please the queen to restore me to my understanding. The queen was much pleased with these sentiments, and replied, that after some time, when convinced of his humility, something might be expected from her lenity. The earl of Essex possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expi-

ring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper haughty and severe; and being continually furrounded with the earl's enemies, means were found to persuade her, that his lofty spirit was not sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo this farther trial, before he could be safely readmitted into favour. She, therefore, denied his request; and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender*. This rigour, pushed one step too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and shortened the days of the queen herself.

The state of affairs in the year 1599 were very alarming; the Spaniards seeming to meditate a descent on the coast; the commotion in Ireland having risen to a formidable height; and the conduct of Essex being very mysterious and unsatisfactory, the queen issued orders to the city of London to furnish sixteen ships, for the reinforcement of her navy, and six thousand men for the service by land. The like directions being sent to other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet and such an army, were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all appearance of success, from foreign or domestic enemies. The command, both of the fleet and army, was entrusted to the earl of Nottingham, who, on this occasion, was invested with the high title of lord-lieutenant general of all England; an office intended by the queen for the earl of Leicester in 1588, but unknown to succeeding times. The earl held this post, with almost regal authority, for the space of six weeks, being sometimes with his fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the force†.

* Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 472. † Camden's Annals, p. 794. Sir William Monson. Cambell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. p. 435.

Essex, who had, with great difficulty, so long subdued his proud spirit, began, at length, to conclude, that the queen was inexorable; and his temper being remarkably impatient and ungovernable, this apprehension led him to burst, at once, all restraints of submission and prudence; and he determined to seek relief, by proceeding to the utmost extremities against his enemies. The national apprehensions having now subsided, and the new levies being disbanded, the earl attempted to raise a force sufficient to compel the queen to do what he thought expedient; and failing in this, he retired, with some few adherents, to Essex-House, in the Strand, where he fortified himself, and confined the chancellor, the chief justice of England, and other privy-counsellors, who were sent by the queen to enquire into the grievances he pretended. The queen now saw herself, when in the decline of life, and after having gloriously triumphed over foreign foes, in the utmost peril, from an assuming favourite, who owed all his credit to her kindness, and who was attempting to kindle a rebellion in her capital. These commotions, nevertheless, were not capable of shaking her magnanimity; she appeared with as much tranquillity and security, as if there had only passed a fray in the streets, in which she was no wise concerned*. The lord admiral was sent against Essex, whom he reduced to such distress, that he was at length obliged to surrender himself a prisoner. He was soon after, brought to a trial, before twenty-five peers; on which occasion lord Buckhurst was created lord high steward; by this court he was found guilty. Elizabeth, who affected extremely the praise of clemency, had always appeared full of reluctance and hesitation, in every great example

* Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 469.

which she had made during her reign ; but the present situation of Essex called forth all her tender affections, and kept her in an actual agitation and irresolution. She felt a perpetual combat between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion ; the care of her own safety, and concern for her favourite ; and her situation, during this interval, was, perhaps, more an object of pity, than that to which Essex himself was reduced. She signed the warrant for his execution ; she countermanded it ; she again resolved on his death ; she felt a new return of tenderness. The enemies of Essex told her, that he himself desired to die ; and had assured her, that she could never be in safety while he lived. But what chiefly hardened her heart against him was, his supposed obstinacy, in never making, as she hourly expected, an application to her for mercy. At length her resentment prevailed, and she gave a decisive order for his execution. He discovered, at his death, symptoms rather of penitence than of fear, and readily acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution was private in the Tower, agreeable to his own request : he was apprehensive, he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people would too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation, under the afflicting hand of heaven, was the only proper sentiment which he could indulge ; and the queen, no doubt, thought it prudent to remove so melancholy a spectacle from the public eye*. Thus died the famous earl of Essex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, on the 25th of February, 1607. Two years after the death of this imperious favourite, a transaction was brought to light, which threw a dark cloud over the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre, in the eyes of all Europe.

* Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. V. p. 430.

The earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the encrease of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret, that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices, which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring, desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him, that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, she would immediately, upon the sight of it, recall her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology. Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay, and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy, to sign the warrant for his execution. The countess of Nottingham, falling into sickness, and afflicted with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed; and crying to her, *That God might pardon her, but she*
never

never could, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself over to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation; she even refused food and sustenance; and throwing herself on the floor, she remained sullen and immoveable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and existence an insufferable burthen to her. Few words she uttered; and they were all expressive of some inward grief, which she cared not to reveal: but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them. Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions which her maids brought her; and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies, which they prescribed to her. Her anxious mind, at last, had so long preyed on her frail body, that her end was visibly approaching; and the council being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral and secretary, to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that as she had held a regal scepter, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined, that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots? She died 24th March, 1603.

The character of this illustrious princess is admirably drawn by a noble and very eminent writer.

Unallyed and alone, queen Elizabeth maintained a glorious and successful war against the greatest power and the richest potentate in Europe. She distressed him in the West-Indies: She insulted him in Spain: she took from him the empire of the sea: she fixed it in herself: she rendered all the projects of universal monarchy vain; and shook to the foundations

dations the most exorbitant power which ever disturbed the peace, or threatened the liberties of Europe. She supported the oppressed people of the Netherlands against the tyranny of their prince: she supported the protestant subjects of France against Catharine of Medicis and her sons, those execrable butchers of their people. She supported the kings of France, Henry III. and IV. against the ambition of the princes of the house of Lorraine, and the rebellious league of their popish subjects. She who seemed to have every thing to fear in the beginning of her reign, became in the progress of it terrible to her enemies. The pretender to her crown lost her own. The English, who appeared at first so favourable to the queen of Scots, became at last as desirous to sacrifice the life of that unfortunate princess to the security of queen Elizabeth. Whilst war, confusion, and the miseries which attend them, raged in the dominions of those who bent their aim at the disturbance of her government, she preserved her subjects in peace and in plenty. Whilst the glory of the nation was carried high by achievements in war, the riches and the strength of it were raised by the arts of peace to such a degree, as former ages had never seen, and as we of this age feel in the consequences. Well therefore might my lord Bacon, speaking of queen Elizabeth say, "as for her government, I assure myself I shall not exceed, if I do affirm that this part of the island never had forty-five years of better times; and yet not through the calmness of the season but the wisdom of her regiment."

Before we quit this long and illustrious reign, it will be necessary to relate some commercial and naval occurrences which happened during the last three years of it, which could not be properly introduced before.

A charter was granted in the year 1600, to
George

George earl of Cumberland, and two hundred and fifteen knights, aldermen, and merchants, to trade to the East-Indies; which company's ships, on their first voyage, when homeward bound, took possession of the Island of St. Helena, then uninhabited, but well stocked with goats, hogs, and poultry, by the Portuguese, who made it an occasional place of resort. This rocky island the English planted and fortified, and held it, undisturbed, for seventy-three years. This first voyage was undertaken in February, 1601, by captain James Lancaster, with five ships, from six hundred to one hundred and thirty tons burden, having four hundred and eighty sailors on board. He touched at Achen, and established an English trade through the Indies. Returning to Europe, the ship he was aboard, named the Dragon, lost her rudder, and received other damage, after it had left the Cape of Good Hope: another ship, named the Hector, being still in company, by his firmness and care he reached St. Helena, where he put his ship in a condition to proceed on her voyage; and arrived in the Downs, 11th September, 1603. By this successful voyage, he acquired a handsome fortune, and lived, for many years, in affluence*.

About the year 1603 the English East-India Company first settled a factory at Surat, on the coast of Malabar, in the East-Indies.

This charter was not clogged with so many reservations to the crown, as that granted in 1582 to the Turkey Company†. It was, however, expressly mentioned, that in case the charter should hereafter appear to be unprofitable to the crown and realm, then, upon two years notice to the company, it should cease and determine; but if otherwise, the

* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 702. Purchas, Vol. I. p. 147. † See page 399.

the queen therein promised, at the end of fifteen years, upon the company's suit, to grant them a new charter for fifteen years longer. This is the very same East-India Company, which, through many vicissitudes, subsisted, under the same denomination, till the year 1708, when it was absorbed by the present United Company of Merchants trading to the East-Indies.

The East-India Company so formed, raised a capital of seventy-two thousand pounds, but not on one joint stock, or common capital, as in succeeding times; there being no joint stock in this company till the year 1613. They went on in a method of sundry copartnerhips, and smaller stocks. On the first establishment of this trade, many objections were loudly urged against it, which were circumstantially answered. One great object proposed by it was, the supplying the kingdom with spices from the countries which produced them; whereas they were before procured by the way of Turkey. The interference of this branch of trade with the Turkey Company, was, probably, the principal cause of these clamours.

As foreign commerce now increased very rapidly in England, an act of parliament was passed, for appointing commissioners to hear and determine policies of assurance made among merchants; by the preamble to which it appears, that it had been, time out of mind, an usage among merchants, when they make any great adventure, to give some consideration of money to other persons, to have, from them, assurance made of their goods, merchandize, ships, and things adventured, at such rates as the parties agree*; which course of dealing is commonly called a policy of assurance, or insurance, of ships and merchandize on the seas, and is of great

* 43d Elizabeth, cap. 12.

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* Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 708.
page 399.

Purchas, Vol. I. p. 147.

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* 43d Elizabeth, cap. 12.

antiquity, even so far back as the reign of the emperor Claudius Cæsar†.

In the year 1601 captain William Parker was fitted out, by some private adventurers, to cruise on the Spaniards in the West-Indies. He had two ships, and about two hundred and thirty men. He reduced St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verd Islands; than sailing to the coast of America, took the town of La Rancheria, in the Island of Cubagua, on the coast of Terra Firma. He proceeded next to Porto Bello, and entering the harbour by moonlight, met with no resistance from the fort. He then attacked the place by surprize, which, after an obstinate defence, he carried by assault. His moderation and generosity to the Spaniards, after he had made himself, master of the place, deserves to be recorded; particularly as they do not often occur in the naval or military transactions of these times. Don Pedro Melendez, the governor, he set at liberty, out of respect to his brave defence of the place; the town he spared, and, on quitting it, set the garrison at liberty.

In the last year of queen Elizabeth's reign, another expedition was set on foot against the coasts of Spain; the command of which was given to Sir Richard Levison, and Sir William Monson. Their first attempt was made against the Spanish flota, but without effect: they then assailed the harbour of Ceimbra, where a number of Spanish ships lay; two of which they destroyed; they made prize of a rich carrack, worth a million of ducats. Eight large ships found means to escape out of the harbour; seven of which were destroyed by Sir Robert Mansel, near Dover.

The queen closed her long and glorious reign

† Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 454.

with the entire reduction of Ireland. During her reign she sent over more men, and employed more treasure, in the reduction of that kingdom, than all her predecessors.

Under Elizabeth, England began to breath anew: and the protestant religion being once more seated on the throne, brought with it some more freedom and toleration. But the Itarchamber, that effectual instrument of tyranny under the two Henry's, yet continued to subsist; the inquisitorial tribunal of the high commission was even instituted; and the yoke of arbitrary power lay still heavy on the necks of the subjects; but the general affection of the people for a queen, whose former misfortunes had excited universal concern; the imminent dangers which England escaped, and the extreme glory attending her reign, lessened a sense of such exertions of her authority, as would, in these days, appear the height of tyranny, and served at that time to justify, as they still do to excuse a princess, whose great talents, though not her principles of government, render her worthy of being ranked among the greatest sovereigns.

The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to their services, had made use of an expedient, which had been employed by her predecessors, but which had never been carried to such an extreme as under her administration. She granted her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies; and these patents they sold to others, who were thereby enabled to raise commodities to what price they pleased, and who put invincible restraints upon all commerce, industry, and emulation in the arts. It is astonishing to consider the

number and importance of those commodities, which were thus assigned over to patentees. Currants, salt, iron, powder, cards, calf-skins, fells, pouldavies, ox-shin-bones, train oil, lists of cloth, pot-ashes, anniseeds, vinegar, sea-coals, steel, aqua-vitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, saltpetre, lead, accidents, oil, calamine stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards, transportation of iron ordnance, of beer, of horn, of leather, importation of Spanish wool, of Irish yarn: these are but a part of the commodities, which had been appropriated to monopolists*. When this list was read in the house, a member cried, *Is not bread in the number? Bread*, said every one with astonishment, *Yes, I assure you*, replied he, *If affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament*†. These monopolists were so exorbitant in their demands, that in some places they raised the price of salt, from sixteen-pence a bushel, to fourteen or fifteen shillings‡. Such high profits naturally begat intruders upon their commerce: and in order to secure themselves against incroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers from the council, by which they were enabled to oppress the people at pleasure, and to exact money from such as they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent§. The patentees of saltpetre having the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havock they pleased in stables, cellars, or wherever they suspected saltpetre might be gathered; commonly extorted money from those who desired to free themselves from this damage or trouble||. And while all domestic intercourse was thus restrained, lest any scope should

* D'Ewes, p. 648, 650, 651. † Idem, 648. ‡ Idem, 647. § Idem, 644, 646, 652. || Idem, 653.

remain for industry, almost every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at any price, that they themselves thought proper to offer or exact*.

The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could, at pleasure, take provisions for the household from all the neighbouring counties: and could make use of the carts and carriages of the farmers; and the price of these commodities and services, was fixed and stated. The payment of the money was often distant and uncertain; and the rates being fixed before the discovery of the West Indies, were much inferior to the market price in queen Elizabeth's reign. During the early part of her reign, the queen, however, made use of this means to victual her navy, the exercise of which obnoxious impost gave great offence to the house of commons, and remonstrances were made; but the royal authority, at length, silenced all murmurs, without satisfying the complainants.

Notwithstanding the discouragements thrown on commerce, and particularly on the advancement of manufactures and domestic industry, by oppressive monopolies, yet the spirit of the age, and the views of the queen, when the interests of her courtiers did not intervene, strongly tended to attempt new branches of foreign commerce.

The royal navy, which the queen left at her decease, appears considerable, when we reflect only on the number of vessels, which were forty-two: but when we consider that none of these ships carried above forty guns; that four only came up to that number; that there were but two ships of a thousand tons; and twenty-three below five hundred, some of fifty, and some even of twenty tons; and that the

* Hume's Hist. of England. Vol. V. p. 440.

whole number of guns belonging to the fleet was 774*: we must entertain a contemptible idea of the English navy, compared to the force which it has now attained.

The bankrupt laws, which had been introduced in the reign of Henry VIII.† as well for the punishment of the fraudulent, as the relief of the unfortunate trader, received a farther extension in this reign‡, and proved highly convenient to that character which the English now began to assume of a great commercial people.

We shall now enter on the biographical part of this work, by presenting to our readers the life of an eminent naval commander, now first collected from authentic materials, and who flourished in the early period of which we have spoken: with which we shall close this our first volume.

MEMOIRS of Lord CLINTON, *Lord High Admiral,*
afterwards created Earl of LINCOLN.

WILLIAM DE VILLA TANCREDI, chamberlain of Normandy, had three sons, Osbert, Renebald, and William, by Maud his wife, who sprung from an ancient and honourable descent, all of whom accompanied William the Norman in his expedition into England in 1066, and acquired through that prince large possessions. From Renebald the second son, the family of Clinton derive their descent, which surname was assumed from the lordship of Clinton in Oxfordshire, which now bears the name of Glimpton§.

Edward, ninth lord Clinton, was born in 1512; on the death of his father in 1517, who died of

* Monson, p. 196. The English navy at present carries about 14,000 guns. † 34th and 35th Henry VIII. cap. 4. ‡ 13th Eliz. cap. 7. § MS. in Cotton Library. Tiberius, F. 9.

the distemper called the sweating sickness, he was, according to the custom of those times, in ward to the king. When he was eight years of age, he attended Henry VIII. to the interview with Francis I. the French king, in the year 1520†. He made choice of the sea-service, but no opportunity offered, wherein he might signalize himself, until in the year 1544, he served under the lord high admiral, the viscount Lisle, in a fleet sent against Scotland, the earl of Hertford being general of the land forces. This expedition was occasioned by the Scots breaking faith, in refusing to send their queen Mary to be married to prince Edward, agreeable to treaty ratified some years before. Having attacked and carried the town of Leith, the army proceeded to the city of Edinburgh, which they stormed. The gallant behaviour of lord Clinton in this action, procured him the honour of knighthood‡.

After this service, the lord admiral, with the lord Clinton, proceeded with the fleet to annoy the coast of Scotland for some time, and, in the same summer, the town of Boulogne was reduced, chiefly by means of the fleet§. Our historians do not mention the lord Clinton being farther employed at sea during the remainder of Henry VIIIth's reign; but very near the close of it, he was with Dudley, lord Lisle, in France, and witnessed the oath of Francis I. to observe the treaty signed June 7, 1546*.

In the succeeding reign he commanded the fleet against Scotland, the particulars of which expedition have been already related||. After his return from this service, he was appointed governor of Boulogne, then threatened with a siege by the French. By his perseverance and fortitude, he kept possession of the place, until it was restored to France by a treaty of peace, notwithstanding the garrison

† Hall's Chron. p. 208. ‡ Stow's Annals, p. 580. § See page 283.
• Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XV. p. 98. || Page 293.

was reduced to extreme streights for want of provisions, and all necessaries. For these services he received the thanks of the council on his return to England, and Edward VI. created him lord high admiral; appointed him of his privy council, and soon after he was appointed a knight of the garter*.

In 1551, when the marshal of France arrived in England on an embassy to Edward VI. and to propose a marriage between that king and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the French king, lord Clinton was sent to receive him, and conduct him from Gravesend to Durham place in the Strand, and the next day to the king at Richmond. Soon after, the French king having a third son born, who was afterwards Henry III. requested Edward to stand godfather, which being complied with, lord Clinton was sent to France as proxy for his majesty, being also commissioned with Sir William Pickering, ambassador leger at Paris, to treat about the proposed match between king Edward and the princess Elizabeth.

A short time before the king's death, he was appointed governor of the Tower. Probably the former friendship which had subsisted between Dudley, viscount Lisle, then duke of Northumberland, induced him to take part in the pretensions of lady Jane Gray to the throne of England. When queen Mary supplanted her rival, lord Clinton delivered possession of the Tower to her, two days after which he was deprived of his office, and excluded from the queen's privy council; but no farther resentment was shewn against him, on account of the great services which he had rendered the nation; and his eldest son Henry was created one of the knights of the Bath, against the queen's coronation: yet soon after, his patent of lord high admiral, though granted him for life, was revoked, and William lord Howard of Effingham, constituted lord high admiral in his stead§.

* Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 68. § Idem, p. 72.

Being

Being thus stripped of all those honours to which his eminent services entitled him, he had an opportunity of testifying his disinterestedness in the service of his sovereign, for he lent his assistance in suppressing the insurrection, made by Sir Thomas Wyatt, which conduct restored him to the favour of Mary, who caused him to attend in her suite, when she espoused Philip of Spain†.

When the war broke out with France, his lordship went over with the English troops to the continent, and was a lieutenant general of the army under the earl of Pembroke, at the siege of St. Quintin§, and in the last year of Mary's reign he was again constituted lord high admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, &c. And the war with France continuing, his lordship on the 12th of April 1558, was constituted lieutenant-general and chief commander of the fleet and forces going against France and Scotland.

His first enterprize, after being reinstated in his former dignity, was against the haven and town of Brest, the issue of which expedition has been already related*.

When queen Elizabeth ascended the throne, she admitted his lordship of her privy council, and continued him her high admiral. In the eleventh year of that queen's reign, he was appointed with other lords, to hear and examine such matters as should be brought before them against the queen of Scots, by the earl of Murray regent of Scotland. In 1569, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, having broke out in open rebellion, lord Clinton, and the earl of Warwick, marched against them, and obliged them to fly into Scotland.

In 1572, queen Elizabeth, who was extremely reserved in bestowing honours as well as emoluments, unless on those who had eminently deserved them, created lord Clinton earl of Lincoln, and shortly after he was chosen one of the peers appointed to try the duke of Norfolk. The next year

† Strype, Vol. III. p. 87.
§ 60. B. 1. * See page 328.

§ MS. in the Harleian Library, Not.

he was sent into France, attended by a great train of noblemen, to receive a ratification of the treaty of Blois, from Charles IX. the French king; after which, nothing farther is related of him, than that he died on the 16th day of January, 1584-5, aged seventy-two years. Hollingshed has the following passage concerning this nobleman. "In the month of January deceased Edward lord Clinton, earl of Lincoln, lord admiral of England, knight of the garter, and one of her majesty's most honourable privy council; a man of great years and service, as well by sea as land; who was buried at Windsor, leaving many children honourably married. He was lord great admiral of England thirty years, and of council unto three princes; always of unspotted report; and, therefore, as singularly beloved in his life, as bemoaned at his death *."

He was thrice married, and left a widow, by whom he had no issue. This lady, Mr. Horace Walpole, in his catalogue of noble authors, supposes to be Elizabeth, second daughter of Thomas Fitz-Gerald, tenth earl of Kildare. The earl of Surry, father of the duke of Norfolk, at whose trial the earl of Clinton sat as a judge, in his juvenile years, entertained a violent passion for this lady, and wrote some admirable sonnets in her praise, in which she is stiled the fair Geraldine; when on his travels at Florence, he published a general challenge in honour of her beauty, and came off victorious; notwithstanding which he was not able to win her.—The earl of Lincoln by his will bequeathed to his widow twelve manors, for her life, who erected a sumptuous monument to her husband's memory, in the chapel of St. George in Windsor, where he lies interred, and where she was afterwards buried. By Ursula, his second wife, he had three sons, from the eldest of whom is descended the present Earl, who, on the death of the late duke of Newcastle, succeeded to that title.

* Chronicle, p. 1379.



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